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THE *ANTHUS* OF AGATHON.

In some tragedies there are one or two of the familiar names while the others are invented; and in some indeed not one, as for example in Agathon's *Anthus*. In this play, in fact, the things done and the characters alike are made up, and they are not a whit less pleasing.

—Aristotle, *Poetics*, IX, 7, 1451b 21.¹

It has often been remarked that the Greeks distrusted mere fiction. Regularly their imaginative literature claims authority in accepted legend or history. The tragic dramatist might, indeed, deviate from established narrative in creating minor characters and appropriate episodes. Like Aeschylus, in the *Persians*, he might place historical figures in fictitious situations. For the most part, however, the extant plays present familiar personages and familiar plots. A particular interest necessarily attaches to Aristotle's statement that the plot and the characters of the lost *Anthus* of Agathon were the true invention of its author. And, if Aristotle allows us to believe that Agathon's originality was neither unique² nor generally to be recommended, he expressly states that it was successful.

The play was not celebrated in antiquity. We meet no men-

¹ Throughout this paper the translations are new.

² But cf. Alfred Gudeman, *Aristoteles, Poetik* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1934), p. 211: "Von antiken Tragödien dieser Art, in denen τά τε πρόματα καὶ τὰ δύματα πεποίηται ist mir kein zweites, voraristotelisches Beispiel bekannt, es sei denn das Μέγα Δρᾶμα des Ion von Chios, aus dem Pollux *Onom.* 10, 177 einige Worte zitiert. Man erwartete, wie es scheint, auch gar nicht eine derartige Originalität. Denn, falls auf Arist. *Ran.* 1043 ff. Verlass ist, verwahrte sich sein Euripides geradezu gegen den Vorwurf die Sujets seiner als unmoralisch von Aischylos gegeisselten Dramen, wie des Hippolytos und Bellerophon, nicht der geschichtlichen Überlieferung entnommen zu haben . . .".

tion of it outside the *Poetics*. We have not even been sure of its title. The texts, with one exception, give ANӨEI, which can be the dative of the rather familiar proper name 'Ανθεύς or of the common noun τὸ ἄνθος, the flower. The Arabian version, however, seems to indicate an original ANӨHI, and Alfred Gudeman has argued for 'Ανθη as the play's correct designation.³ It has, in fact, long been maintained that the traditionally accepted ANӨEI may be corrupt since we know in various accounts several not dissimilar proper names which suggest other possible dative forms: "Ανθος, "Ανθης, "Ανθας.⁴ If the early manuscripts read ANӨΩΙ, ANӨΗΙ, or ANӨΑΙ, late scribes, uncertain of the word, may have attempted clarification in preferring ANӨEI, which, nevertheless, modern editors, with the exception of Gudeman, have been unwilling to relinquish. Opinion has been divided as to whether 'Ανθεύς should be regarded as a more probable nominative than "Ανθος, *The Flower*;⁵ the latter title would be of a form unprecedented in Greek drama.

³ Gudeman, *loc. cit.*, points out that the MSS of the *Poetics* frequently confuse η and ει. We know an Anthe to have been one of the daughters of the giant Alcyoneus; upon the death of her father at the hands of Hercules she and her seven sisters cast themselves into the sea and were metamorphosed into petrels. There is no clear suggestion of material for drama in the accounts, and Gudeman supposes Agathon to have placed his protagonist, a rather unfamiliar though legendary figure, in a newly constructed plot; see below, p. 160, note 56. The reading ANӨΗΙ might also suggest a nominative "Ανθης; concerning that name and allied forms see below, p. 162, note 62.

⁴ Cf. Welcker, *Die Griechische Tragödien* (Bonn, 1839), p. 995. And see below, p. 162, note 62.

⁵ Twining, *Aristotle's Treatise on Poetry* (London, 1789), p. 82, translates "Agatho's tragedy called The Flower." Susemihl, *Aristoteles über die Dichtkunst* (Leipzig, 1865), p. 74 and note 92, p. 177, reads "Ανθεῖ with hesitation. S. H. Butcher, *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art* (London, 1907), p. 37, and Ingram Bywater, *Aristotle on the Art of Poetry* (Oxford, 1909), p. 28 and note pp. 191-2, agree in reading 'Ανθεῖ. J. Hardy, *Aristote, Poétique* (Paris, 1932), p. 42, also reads 'Ανθεῖ. Rostagni, *La Poetica di Aristotele* (Torino, 1928), p. 37, returns to "Ανθεῖ, with this comment: "Del dramma ora citato non sappiamo nulla; è persino incerto se debba proprio leggersi, coi codd., "Ανθεῖ e intendere il *Fiore*, titolo simbolico; ovvero 'Ανθεῖ da 'Ανθεύς; ma anche in tal caso non dovremmo pensare ad alcuno dei personaggi leggendari con questo nome." According to I. Sykoutres, ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΠΟΙΗΤΙΚΗΣ (Athens, 1937), p. 83, note 3: "Πάντως ἀπίθανον εἶναι νὰ ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ ἔργον "Ανθος."

It is surprising, all in all, that no extended investigation of the extant narratives dealing with "Ανθεί- characters has been made. Scholars have generally assumed that all of these stories are typical folk products, but at least two of them, though in late writers, are sufficiently elaborate to constitute possible summaries of the play's action. As criterion we have Aristotle's statement concerning the plot and characters, and many other tests immediately suggest themselves.

Most obvious for analysis is the Περὶ Ἀνθέως, a romantic tale to be found in the Ἐρωτικὰ Παθήματα, XIV of Parthenius (first century B. C.).⁶ H. J. Rose has, as a matter of fact, stated the opinion that this story comprises the plot Agathon used.⁷ Rose recognizes, however, that it is a variant of the familiar material of "Joseph and Potiphar's Wife," which suggests, of course, that the narrative was ultimately of folk origin. Parthenius knew several versions, and he provides at some length two rather different accounts.

The substance of the first is as follows: Antheus, a youth of the royal stock of Halicarnassus,⁸ goes to serve as a hostage in the house of Phobius, grandson of Neleus,⁹ ruler of Miletus. Cleoboea, wife of Phobius, "whom some have called Philaichme,"¹⁰ falls in love with Antheus and tries to seduce his

⁶ The best edition is that of P. Sakolowski in *Mythographi Graeci*, II, 1 (Leipzig, 1896). Cf. also *The Love Romances of Parthenius*, edited with translations by S. Gaselee for the Loeb Classical Library (1916).

⁷ Cf. *A Handbook of Greek Literature* (London, 1934), p. 208: "We know . . . what the plot of the *Antheus* was; a romantic tale of the same type as that of Joseph and Potiphar's Wife, ending in the death of the young man, Antheus, by the woman's contrivance." See below, p. 149, note 16.

⁸ Some critics have related the Antheus of this account to a primitive Anthus-Anthes-Anthas figure discussed below; see below p. 162, note 62. An Anthes is reported to have been the founder of Halicarnassus. The point is of some relevance to the opinion that Anthus is a folk character.

⁹ Phobius, king of Miletus, was son of Hippocles, son of Neleus, the traditional founder; on Neleus, cf. Herodotus, IX, 97; Pausanias, VII, 2, 1; Suidas, s. v. "Ιωνία."

¹⁰ Κλεόβοια, ἦν τινες Φιλαίχμην ἐκάλεσαν. The phrase substantiates the statement that several versions of the story were known to Parthenius. Cf. also a later passage: "Ἐφασαν δέ τινες οὐ πέρδικα, σκεῦος δὲ χρυσοῦν εἰς τὸ φρέαρ βεβλῆσθαι, ὡς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Αιτωλὸς μέμνηται ἐν τοῖσδε ἐν Ἀπόλλωνι.

virtue. The youth refuses her advances. After a time she pretends to have dismissed her affection and to have forgiven his coldness, but, scheming her revenge, she asks Antheus to descend into a deep cistern to bring up a domestic partridge which she has frightened into the pit. Unsuspectingly Antheus climbs down and Cleoboea shakes loose a heavy stone upon him. Antheus is thus slain, but Cleoboea hangs herself in a fit of remorse. Phobius, under pollution, abdicates to Phrygius.

The second version, for which Parthenius avows his debt to the *Apollo* of Alexander Aetolus (early third century B. C.), is in the form of prophetic verse. It is more effective as character study, emphasizing the boyish innocence of Antheus (here a descendant of the king of Assesus¹¹) and the tricky guile of Phobius' wife (here unnamed). The lady "will send" Antheus in quest of a golden jug which has fallen into the cistern—"and I hear from everybody that the way down through this opening is easy." "With both hands" she will let fall a millstone; then she will join Antheus in Hades by suicide.

Further versions are suggested by the marginal annotation preserved with Parthenius' text indicating parallel accounts (or possibly sources) to be found in "Aristotle and those who relate τὰ Μιλησιακά."¹² This last phrase doubtless includes the notorious collection of *Milesian Tales* by Aristides (second century B. C.), who assembled materials which it is reasonable to suppose were traditional in Miletus.¹³ Aristotle may have presented the narrative in connection with an account of Miletus in his *Πολιτεῖαι*, but the passage is lost to us.¹⁴ The Ήερὶ Ἀνθέως may easily have been a local legend.

¹¹ Gaselee's note, *op. cit.*, p. 302: "Assesus was a city in the territory of Miletus. The word may be here either the name of the city or its eponymous founder."

¹² "Ιστορεῖ Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ οἱ τὰ Μιλησιακά." E. Martini, in *Mythographi Graeci*, II, 1 (Leipzig, 1896), p. lxiv, argues that such marginal ascriptions indicate parallel accounts (not sources), but scholarship has not settled the matter.

¹³ On the *Milesian Tales* cf. Elizabeth H. Haight, *Essays on Ancient Fiction* (New York, 1936), pp. 7-9, 37.

¹⁴ Parthenius' account constitutes Fragment 515 in the Berlin edition of Aristotle's *Complete Works*, p. 1562a; cf. Fragment 516. Cf. also Gaselee's note, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

Though we have scarcely sufficient evidence to postulate the structure of an *Antheus*-play, it perhaps cannot be proved that these two accounts in Parthenius could not represent the substance of Agathon's work; Aristotle's statement in the *Poetics* is susceptible of various interpretations.¹⁵ The genealogy of Phobius is, however, substantiated in other documents, and we may be confident that he, at any rate, was not invented for the tale. The chief episode is patterned to a popular formula. It is the inference of the facts at our disposal that the story was known in several versions differing in details. And it seems probable that it was a part of the mythical heritage of Miletus. We are almost compelled to the opinion that the narrative is essentially a folk creation. In so far, Rose's view is not well founded.¹⁶

A more convincing case may be made, I believe, for the story of "Ανθος" in the Μεταμορφωσέων Συναγωγή of Antoninus Liberalis, inconspicuous mythographer of the second century A. D.¹⁷ This narrative, the seventh in the *Collection*, runs as follows:

¹⁵ See below, p. 160.

¹⁶ Professor Rose has written me in support of his opinion as follows: "The story in Parthenios, 14 is a romantic tale of a sort to appeal to a younger contemporary of Euripides. We may take Parthenios' word for it that he did not get the tale direct from Agathon; I wish we knew what passage in Aristotle he went to and who his authors of τὰ Μιλησιακά were (writers of the local history of Miletos? writers like that Aristeides whom Sisenna translated? the story does not give much room for the indecencies for which A. was celebrated). But there is no reason to suppose that either Aristotle or the 'Milesians' would not draw upon a tragedy or that the latter would not re-write a tragic story (see for parallels my notes on the *Fabulae* of Hyginus, in my edition of him)." It will be seen that such an argument rests upon probable possibility; whereas, I flatter myself, my own below has the advantage of a not impossible probability. It perhaps should be mentioned in conclusion that the *Antheus*-story gives no hint of a chorus. The cistern, if shown on the stage, would have taxed the ingenuity of the σκευοποίος.

¹⁷ The Μεταμορφωσέων Συναγωγή has appeared in several editions, the most recent being *Mythographi Graeci*, II, 1 (Leipzig, 1896), E. Martini, editor. We have no information about Antoninus Liberalis apart from inferences of vocabulary and style; cf. Martini, p. lxvii, and Wentzel, in *R.-E.*, I, s. v. "Antoninus Liberalis." The Heidelberg MS (Palat. 396) has many lacunae, and the entire text of the *Anthus*-story has been destroyed since the reading of Xylander, the first editor of the *Collection* in 1568.

ANTHUS

(Boeus tells the origins of birds, Book I)¹⁸

1) To Autonous (He-who-knows-his-own-mind), son of Melaneus, and Hippodamia (She-who-tames-horses) were born as sons Erodius, Anthus, Schoeneus, Acanthus, and as daughter Acanthyllis, to whom the gods gave the fairest form.

2) Now this Autonous came into possession of a great many herds of mares, and them Hippodamia, his wife, and their children pastured.

3) But when, although he had a great deal of land, no harvest was forthcoming to Autonous on account of his neglect of work, and his land bore him rushes (*σχοῖνοι*) and thistles (*ἄκανθαι*), from these he named the children Acanthus and Schoeneus and Acanthyllis; and the eldest [he named] Erodius because his land went back on him (*ἡρώησεν*).¹⁹

4) Now this Erodius loved the herds of mares very much indeed and cared for them in the pasture. But when Anthus (son of Autonous) drove the mares out of the pasture, they, kept from their feed, were beside themselves, and coming upon Anthus, they devoured him as he cried loudly upon the gods to protect him.

5) Now the father, for his part, stricken with distress, could make no move to drive away the mares, and the servant of the boy also [did nothing]; but the mother fought it out with the mares. Yet on account of her weakness of body she was not able to defend him against death.²⁰

6) These people then wept and wailed for Anthus thus dead, but Zeus and Apollo, taking pity on them all, made them birds: Autonous a bittern (*օκνος*) because he made no move (*ῶκνησεν*) to drive away the mares; the mother a crested lark (*κορυδός*)

¹⁸ See below, p. 153, note 26.

¹⁹ The text has frequently been called into question at this point. Martini reads *ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν ἡρώησεν δὲ χῶρος*, but conceives *αὐτὸν* to be corrupt, "quod de conj. sua dedit Xyl." Most of the variants which have been offered (cf. Martini's edition) do not substantially alter the sense, but Tümpel, in *R.-E.*, VI, s. v. "Erodius," has this interpretation to offer: "Erodius, der älteste Sohn, war von seinem Vater so benannt, weil ihn sein Gebiet zu sehr in der Bewegungsfreiheit beschränkte (*αὐτὸν ἡρώησεν*)."

²⁰ See below, p. 158, note 50.

because she raised her crest (*ἐκορύσσετο*) against the mares fighting for her son.

7) But Anthus himself and Erodius and Schoeneus and Acanthyllis, having become birds,²¹ they caused to be called by the same names they had been named before their metamorphosis. Anthus' attendant, in the same way as the boy's brother (Erodius), they made a heron; but not exactly like him, for this kind of heron (*ὁ λευκερωδιός*) is rather smaller than the black one (*ὁ ἐρωδίὸς πέλλος*), and the black one does not associate with the anthus-bird.²² Just so the anthus-bird has nothing to do with the horse because Anthus suffered very great evils from horses.

8) And even now whenever the birds hears a horse neighing, it takes flight, at the same time mimicking the sound.

The suitability of such a story for dramatization will not perhaps be immediately apparent, and there are certain important preliminary questions to be considered. It may be asked,

²¹ Anthus becomes the *ἄνθος*, perhaps the Old World yellow-wagtail; Erodius becomes the *ἐρωδίὸς πέλλος*, the black or common ash-colored heron (*ardea cinerea*); Schoeneus becomes the *σχοινίων* (*σχοινίλος* or *σχοινικλος*), an unknown bird; Acanthyllis becomes the *ἀκανθυλλίς*, diminutive of *ἀκανθίς* the gold finch. Although Acanthus is not mentioned in the text at this point his transmutation into the *ἀκανθίς* is to be taken for granted.

²² The *Anthus*-story contains, in short, the saga of the three types of heron recognized by Pseudo-Aristotle and Pliny; cf. *History of Animals*, IX, 609b 21 f. and 616b 33 f., and *Natural History*, X, 164. Antonous becomes the bittern or "starry" heron (*ὁ ὄκυος ἀστερίας*); Erodius the common black or ash-colored heron (*ὁ ἐρωδίὸς πέλλος*); the servant the white heron or egret (*ὁ λευκερωδιός*). For further information on the herons cf. Dioysius, *de Avibus*, II, 8. It is a curious fact that the words *πέλλος* and *ἀστερίας* occur together as proper names in Apollonius Rhodius, I, 76.

Aristotle himself says of the *λευκερωδιός* in comparison with the *πέλλος*: *ἐστι δὲ οὗτος τὸ μέγεθος ἐκείνου ἐλλάτων*. Cf. *History of Animals*, VIII, 3, 539b 3. The phraseology recalls Antoninus Liberalis: *ἥσσων γάρ, ἐστιν ἴκανῶς τοῦ πελλοῦ*, but we cannot conclude on such slight evidence that the author of the *Anthus*-story saw this passage in Aristotle since both the authentic and unauthentic portions of the *History* contain legendary material and such a simple comparison could easily have been passed on from generation to generation. See below, p. 153, and notes 28, 29.

for example, whether the ANӨEI of Aristotle's text permits us to associate the "Avθos-story with Agathon's play; inasmuch as Anthus' name clearly anticipates his transformation into the anthus-bird (σ ἄνθος), we might conceivably expect the dative reading ANӨΩI. As I have suggested, it is not impossible that the manuscripts originally gave ANӨΩI and that late scribes, to whom the rare bird-name was unknown, substituted a more familiar word for what seemed to them a solecism. But no modification of the received reading is necessary or even to be recommended. One notes that Autonous named his children Acanthus, Acanthyllis, and Schoeneus after the thistles and rushes of his uncultivated fields, and each of these names also anticipates the metamorphosis into birds. What more likely than that the name of Anthon, in the original version, should have betokened not only, by anticipation, the character's consummation as the anthus-bird but also, by derivation, the wild flowers which must have grown with the thistles and rushes in the meadows? The mares' dislike for the boy would thus have more marked significance, for common knowledge tells us that horses, in fact, object to many flowers (daisies, buttercups, etc.). And we shall presently have occasion to mention relevant ancient accounts of horses sent mad by noxious plants.²³ It is thus rather more than likely that Anthon's name had double meaning; who can say whether it was originally inflected under the influence of τὸ ἄνθος or σ ἄνθος?²⁴ Perhaps Aristotle was himself uncertain! The linguistic play involved would have delighted a paradoxical Agathon.²⁵

There is no doubt that the material of the *Anthus*-story was current long before the time of Antoninus Liberalis. We know almost certainly that it was to be found in the *'Ορνιθογονία* of

²³ See below, pp. 167, 168.

²⁴ At the time of my correspondence with H. J. Rose (see above, p. 149, note 16), I held that an emendation of the received textual reading ANӨEI to ANӨΩI would be necessary. Professor Rose found himself unable to sanction the "emendation of a text which will make perfect sense as it stands." As stated, I do not now feel that an emendation is to be recommended. Professor Rose seems to have had no other serious difficulty with my argument; he saw "no objection to supposing that the story was put on the stage sometime and by someone."

²⁵ For Agathon's character see below, pp. 159, 160.

Pseudo-Boeus, a lost work probably of the late fourth century.²⁶ Pseudo-Boeus might easily have derived the tale from Agathon (447-400 B. C.).²⁷ And we shall notice a considerable agreement between certain items of Antoninus Liberalis' account and the bird lore of Book IX of Pseudo-Aristotle's *History of Animals*.²⁸ There is no explicit allusion to the *Anthus*-story in that work, but, since its natural science is often quite uncritical,²⁹ details of its information concerning hostilities and friendships in bird life may have been derived from the *'Ορνιθογονία* or, if my thesis be correct, from Agathon's play; more likely, Pseudo-Aristotle and Agathon were both indebted to a common source containing traditional ornithological materials. In any event,

²⁶ The marginal annotation ('Ιστορεῖ Βοῖος δρυιθογονίας α'), reported by Xylander, is undoubtedly ancient, though of uncertain authorship; cf. Knaack in *R.-E.*, III, s. v. "Boio." Ten of Antoninus Liberalis' stories are similarly annotated, and Martini argues with apparent success for the validity of the references to Boeus (i. e., to the *'Ορνιθογονία*), pointing out that fragments of poetry seem to be preserved in Antoninus Liberalis' prose; cf. his edition of the latter, pp. xlvi-iv.

The historian and biographer Philochorus (late fourth century B. C.) apparently knew the *'Ορνιθογονία*, although he may have ascribed it to a Boeo rather than to Boeus. A Boeo had been an early priestess at Delphi, and, in Knaack's opinion, the *'Ορνιθογονία* was probably attributed to her in early Alexandrian times "behufs grösserer Beglaubigung." Later writers may have invented Boeus out of the highly improbable Boeo. "Boeo *sive* Boeus (Epicus)" is assigned with hesitation to the second century B. C. in the list of "Authors and Works" accompanying the first part (1925) of the new Liddell and Scott *Greek-English Lexicon*. Boeus was imitated by Ovid's friend Aemilius Macer who wrote a Latin *Ornithogonia* in two books. This was a source for Ovid in his *Metamorphoses*. Pliny used Boeus; cf. *Natural History*, X, 7.

²⁷ For Agathon's dates cf. Ritschl, "De Agathonis Tragici Aetate" in *Opuscula Philologica* (Leipzig, 1866), I, pp. 411-435.

²⁸ In the opinion of Dittmeyer, *Aristotelis, de Animalibus Historia* (Leipzig, 1907), p. vii, this portion of the work, from which virtually all our references are taken, is not genuinely Aristotelian; he accepts the view of Joachim (and many other scholars) that it was composed by a peripatetic philosopher of the early third century B. C., and that it derived in part from Theophrastus' *Περὶ Ζώων Φρονησέως καὶ Ἡθῶν* (late fourth century B. C.).

²⁹ Cf. Ross, *Aristotle*² (London, 1930), pp. 112-113: Aristotle's "references are of very unequal value. Many of them are mere allusions without any detail; many are mere repetitions (often with an expressed reserve) of travellers' tales or of legendary lore."

there is no evidence to place the *Anthus*-story as such before Agathon's time; it must have been known in the following century in Pseudo-Boeus, when its dramatic form may still have been extant.

These difficulties aside, we may proceed to a consideration of the question whether the *Anthus*-story appears to be capable of dramatization in accordance with the theatrical conventions of Agathon's contemporaries. Welcker was certainly right in declaring that Aristotle's remarks concerning the lost play do not entitle us to suppose that Agathon approached the *drame bourgeois* in his innovation;³⁰ nevertheless, the abandonment of traditional material would profoundly affect the significance of tragedy.

A dramatization of the *Anthus*-story would, it seems, require a chorus of horses, for which we have precedent in comedy and in satyr-plays. Obviously Agathon's *Anthus* was not a comedy. But it may have been a sort of satyr-play. Although the choreutae of the *Cyclops* of Euripides and the fragmentary *Ichneutae* of Sophocles in some respects suggest goat figures (satyrs) rather than horse-men (*sileni*),³¹ Pratinas, the inventor of the Athenian satyr-play, used equine, not caprine, costumes for his choruses; and from the evidence of vase paintings we know that the equine costumes, though modified, ultimately prevailed.³² Furthermore, we have definite knowledge that Agathon wrote satyr-plays.³³ Since by his time audiences were apparently quite familiar with equine costumes in such plays and since there is convincing evidence that some of them had little to do with Silenus and his band,³⁴ the horse-chorus of the *Anthus* would very probably

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 996: "Dass der *Anthus* von der Erhabenheit der Tragödie zum bürgerlichen Schauspiele den Uebergang nehme, wollte Aristoteles gewiss nicht sagen."

³¹ J. U. Powell, *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature* (3d series, Oxford, 1933), p. 94, and R. C. Flickinger, *The Greek Theater and its Drama* (Chicago, 1936), pp. 30-31.

³² Cf. Flickinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-34, 38, 42, for a complete exposition of the matter. The revellers of the early *κῶμοι* were sometimes dressed as horses, and such costumes were apparently often used in comedy.

³³ Cf. Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae*, 157. This is also the implication of Plato, *Symposium*, 222d.

³⁴ Cf. Diomedes, 490, 20: "Latina Atellana a Graeca satyrica differt, quod in satyrica fere satyrorum personae inducuntur aut si quae sunt ridiculae similes satyris, Autolycus, Busiris."

not have seemed an outrage to the conventions of the theater or to the satyric tradition.

We need not assume that the chorus spoke in this play. Aristotle, indeed, states that Agathon sometimes used instead of the usual choral passages intercalary numbers (*ἐμβόλια*) which had nothing to do with the dramatic theme.³⁵ Possibly the intervals in the action of the *Anthus* were filled by musical entertainment from a group of singers unassociated with the plot.

But if the lost drama was of the satyric type, why does Aristotle specifically designate it as *tragedy*? Apart from the fact that the *Anthus*-story allows no real satyrs in the business, it is apparent that in general usage satyr-plays were very frequently called tragedies.³⁶ Elsewhere in the *Poetics* Aristotle fails to distinguish from tragedies plays which were probably satyric;³⁷ though he mentions the "satyric stage" in the development of tragedy,³⁸ he does not discuss the satyr-play as a distinct type. There is no occasion for astonishment if the play he calls a tragedy should turn out to have possessed certain of the characteristics of satyr-plays.

The material of the *Anthus*-story does not resemble that of the *Cyclops*, but it may have been, after the manner of the *Ichneutae*, "less boisterous, less frequently punctuated with indecencies, more like tragedy in the language of its principal speakers."³⁹ There is, moreover, about the *Anthus*-story a humor mingled with pathos which is not so very far from the tone of the *Alcestis* of Euripides, known to have taken the place of a satyr-play as the fourth member of a tetralogy.⁴⁰ Two characteristics appear to have been invariable in satyr-plays:

³⁵ *Poetics*, XVIII, 7, 1456a 30. Cf. Flickinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 92 f., 144-149 and "ΧΟΡΟΙ in Terence's *Heauton* and Agathon's ΕΜΒΟΛΙΑ" in *Classical Philology*, VII (1912), pp. 24 f.

³⁶ R. J. Walker, *The Ichneutae of Sophocles* (London, 1919), chap. XII, "Notes on the Nature of Satyric Drama," pp. 348-352.

³⁷ Cf. Aristotle's allusions to the *Φορκίδες* (XVIII, 2, 1456a 2), the 'Οδυσσεύς ψευδάγγελος (XVI, 7, 1455a 14) and the *Σίσυφος* (XVIII, 6, 1456a 22). On the matter cf. Gudeman, *op. cit.*, p. 318, s. v. "Φορκίδες."

³⁸ *Poetics*, IV, 1449a 20.

³⁹ J. U. Powell, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

⁴⁰ Cf. Flickinger, *op. cit.*, p. 199. The *Alcestis* may be taken to indicate the development of the satyr-play into a kind of tragicomedy, preserving something of the rough humor of the original form but devoid of satyric elements.

comic personages and a "rustic flavor."⁴¹ The *Anthus* would conform to type in fulfilling both requirements. The rustic flavor of the piece is self-evident. And the characterization of Autonous and Hippodamia shows an ironically humorous intention. "He-who-knows-his-own-mind" is unable to make any effective decision in the moment of crisis! "She-who-tames-horses" cannot save her son from destruction! The significant name is common in Greek myth; e. g., Hippolytus, who like Anthus was destroyed by frenzied horses, Oedipus, Medea, etc. But if Homer has his Irus and Eupeithes,⁴² the irony in the names of Autonous and Hippodamia suggests a tradition particularly characteristic of comedy.⁴³ Further, irony of this sort suggests that the *Anthus*-story can hardly be mere folk-lore, as has hitherto been maintained;⁴⁴ the evidence of deliberate artistry seems clear.

We cannot, of course, be confident of the sequence of episodes in a dramatic version of the narrative. Tümpel, elaborating the *Anthus*-legend, assumed a standing enmity between two factions of the family, headed by the elder Erodius, the hippophile who scorned farming, and the younger Anthus, a lover of meadows and cultivated fields; Erodius had attempted to pasture his mares in Anthus' meadows and the beasts were enraged at the latter for driving them away.⁴⁵ Such a feud between Anthus

⁴¹ Cf. R. J. Walker, *loc. cit.* We learn from Vitruvius, V, 8: "Satyricae vero ornantur arboribus, speluncis, montibus, reliquisque agrestibus rebus."

⁴² *Odyssey*, XVIII, 73; XXIV, 465-6.

⁴³ J. C. Austin, *The Significant Name in Terence* (Univ. of Illinois, 1921), pp. 89, 114, 122, tracing the comic tradition from Aristophanes, comments on the use of ironie names *κατ' ἀντίφραστον*. Cf. Donatus' commentary on Terence, *Andria*, 26: "Nomina personarum in comoediis dumtaxat, habere rationem et etymologiam, etenim absurdum est comicum cum apte argumenta configat, uel nomen personae incongruum dare, uel officium quod sit a nomine diuersum." C. J. Mendelsohn, *Studies in the Word-Play in Plautus* (Univ. of Penna., 1907), pp. 49, 52, 63, remarks *inter alia* that, "An added tinge of humor is found in the name if it describes not what the bearer is, but what he is not." Examples from Aristophanes are Pheidippides (*Clouds*) and Dercetes (*Acharnians*, 1028).

⁴⁴ Cf., for example, Welcker, *op. cit.*, p. 996, and Stoll in Roscher's *Lexicon*, s. v. "Anthus."

⁴⁵ R.-E., VI, s. v. "Erodius." Pseudo-Aristotle, *History of Animals*, IX, 1 reports enmities and friendships among the birds of our account.

and Erodius would provide good dramatic conflict, but the narrative in Antoninus Liberalis gives us, I think, a different impression. There is no clear evidence that Anthus was a lover of agriculture; he was more likely a sort of flower-symbol.⁴⁶ He was but a lad, at any rate, and his παιδαγωγός was apparently negligent in leaving him to his own devices. Perhaps his driving the mares out of their pasture was but a childish prank. There is, in fact, no mention of antagonism between Anthus and Erodius until after Anthon's misadventure: Erodius, transformed to a heron, held a grudge against the metamorphosed Anthon; the anthus-bird quite understandably maintained a permanent apprehension of horses.

We may suppose the scene of the play to have been before the farmhouse of Autonous, with the orchestra representing, for the nonce, the meadows. By way of prologue Autonous and Hippodamia probably discussed their poor estate. For πάροδος Erodius may then have brought on his mares, the delight of his heart and the preoccupation of the whole family. Probably Autonous, with characteristic indetermination, complained that the fields were more and more going to waste. Perhaps Erodius delivered a warning to any whom it concerned not to interfere with his darlings. Anthon, though a boy, may have decided that the mares were the family's undoing;⁴⁷ unnoticed by his

We learn that the ἄνθος and the ἀκανθίς are at odds (610a 6); also the ἐρωδίος and the κορυδός (609b 27). The σχοινίων and the κορυδός are said to be friendly (610a 9). Aelian, *History of Animals*, IV, 5, reports the enmity of the κορυδός and the ἀκανθυλλίς. From these miscellaneous details it is possible to infer a family quarrel of the sort postulated by Tümpel, but there is no evidence of it in the *Anthus*-story as it stands.

⁴⁶ See pp. 152, 163. Lane Cooper, *Plato* (Oxford, 1938), p. 213, suggests that the *Symposium* celebrates Agathon's victory (416 B. C.) with the play with which we are concerned. He notes that Agathon "in some way linked him (his protagonist) to a flower or to flowers; and that an allusion to the play is found in the repeated reference to the stem of the Greek word for flower, noun, verb, and adjective." The passage contains some interesting speculation on the whole subject.

⁴⁷ Palaephatus rationalizes the common myth of man-devouring horses with the explanation that horses were first thought of as anthropophagous when man-sustaining crops had to be sacrificed to their nurture; cf. *de Incredibilibus*, VII (iv); Περὶ τῶν Διομήδος ἵππων. The *Anthus*-story apparently presents the notion that one must choose between crops and horse-raising. (Man-devouring asses appear in another story which Antoninus Liberalis derived from Boeus; cf. XX, Κλεῖνις.)

servant and his relatives, he drove them out of their pasturage, probably imitating their neighing.⁴⁸ A chaotic scene in which the mares attacked the boy⁴⁹ must have been the occasion of the return to the stage of Autonous, Hippodamia, and the servant. Autonous, out of his wits in the emergency, and the παιδαγωγός, probably senile, were of no assistance to Hippodamia who struggled with the animals in vain. As Agathon puts it in a surviving fragment, possibly from the lost *Anthus*,

γυνή τοι σώματος δὶ' ἀργίαν
ψυχῆς φρόνησιν ἐντὸς οὐκ ἀργὸν φορεῖ.

—Agathon, in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, XIII, 548a.⁵⁰

[In compensation for her weakness of body woman
ever has within wisdom of soul by no means weak.]

After the destruction of *Anthus* the whole family gathered to lament his fate. *Dei ex machina*, Zeus and Apollo, appeared to work the metamorphoses.

μόνον γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ θεὸς στερίσκεται
ἀγένητα ποιεῖν ἀστ’ ἀν γε πεπραγμένα.

—Agathon, in Aristotle, *Nic. Ethics*, VI, 2, 6, 1139b.

[Of one thing only is even God deprived, to make
undone what has been done.]

Surely the evidence as to the costuming of the early *κῶμοι* and of the comic choruses which developed from them, indicates that the transformation could easily have been handled on the Greek stage.⁵¹ The horse-figures, I have remarked, were familiar in satyr-plays and in comedy.⁵²

⁴⁸ This may be inferred from Pseudo-Aristotle's account of the behavior of the anthus-bird in the presence of the horse. See below, p. 162.

⁴⁹ Aristotle, *Poetics*, XI, 6, 1452b 12, recognizes θάνατοι ἐν τῷ φανερῷ as a characteristic device of dramatic πάθος. Perhaps *Anthus* was lost from sight in the struggle with the mares long enough to alter his costume and reappear as one of them; he would thus to all appearance have been devoured.

⁵⁰ There is a rather striking similarity between Antoninus Liberalis' phrase, διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀσθένειαν, to account for Hippodamia's futile efforts and the σώματος δὶ' ἀργίαν of the fragment of Agathon quoted above.

⁵¹ Cf. Flickinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39, 42-43, 54, etc.

⁵² See above, p. 154 and notes 32, 34.

Such a play would no doubt have been something of a *tour de force*; its peculiar virtuosity being implicit in its irony, its symbolism, its realistic psychology. The *Anthus* can hardly have reached the high import of Athenian drama at its best, but it must have allowed scope for the poetic imagination. Granting the identification of Antoninus Liberalis' account with Agathon's play, the extravagance of the fable was perhaps not to the taste of an audience which did not like to think itself deceived with fantasy. But we have evidence that Aristotle was not the cold and literal-minded logician he is sometimes thought to have been in his statement that the invented characters and episodes were none the less pleasing.⁵³

As a matter of fact, the dramatization of a story of this kind is what we should have anticipated in Agathon; although only a few fragments of his actual work remain, we know a good deal about the man, the rhetorician, and dramatist. The evidence, taken as a whole,⁵⁴ suggests that he was a poet of rare imagination, who delighted to mingle the serious and the playful (*τὰ μὲν παιδιᾶς, τὰ δὲ σπουδῆς μετρίας, καθ' ὅσον ἐγὼ δύναμαι μετέχων*).⁵⁵

⁵³ Cf. *Poetics*, IX, 7, 1451b 23. Although Aristotle elsewhere chides Agathon for having on occasion violated unity of content by including too much within the scope of a single play, it is perhaps the implication of the passage (*Poetics*, XVIII, 5, 1456a 18) that such violations were Agathon's only serious weakness (*ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀγάθων ἔξεπεσεν ἐν τούτῳ μόνῳ*). His esteem for Agathon's artistry is clear. According to the usual interpretation of *Poetics*, XV, 8, 1454b 14, Aristotle cites Agathon's character drawing as having achieved ideality in reality, but Gudeman's reading of the passage (cf. his note, *op. cit.*, pp. 284-5) removes the allusion to Agathon. Aristotle does not wholly approve his use of *ἔμβολιμα* (see above, p. 155) or his departure from traditional subjects (*Poetics*, IX, 7, 1451b 21). He frequently quotes neat maxims from Agathon's verse; cf. *Eudemian Ethics*, III, 1, 27, 1230a 3, and see in this study pp. 158, 160.

⁵⁴ Welcker excellently sums up our information about Agathon; cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 995-1006. We have brilliant personations of the dramatist by Plato in the *Symposium* (cf. 174a, 212e, 213c, etc.) and by Aristophanes in the *Thesmophoriazusae*, 29-265, Plato testifying to his witty charm and Aristophanes satirizing his celebrated effeminacy. One should note also Plato's *Protagoras*, 315d-e and his verses on Agathon in J. W. Mackail, *Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology*³ (London, 1911), p. 227. There are important allusions to Agathon in *Frogs*, 83-85 and in Xenophon, *Symposium*, VIII, 32. Aelian tells several amusing stories of Agathon and his circle; cf. *Variae Historiae*, II, 21; XIII, 4; XIV, 13.

⁵⁵ Plato, *Symposium*, 197e.

The pathetic fate of the boy Anthus, the valiant efforts of Hippodamia, the stupid incompetence of Autonous and the servant, would have been material to appeal to him. We know that Agathon possessed originality of mind and delicacy of sentiment; if there was also something eccentric and even bizarre about him, the *Anthus*-story does not gainsay it. The fragments of Agathon's poetry, for the most part aphoristic couplets, display a sovereign irony, characteristic of the man-of-the-world in a highly cultivated and rather self-consciously superior society. For examples:

εἰ μὲν φράσω τ' ἀληθές, οὐχὶ σ' εὐφρανῶ.

εἰ δ' εὐφρανῶ τί σ', οὐχὶ τ' ἀληθὲς φράσω.

—Agathon, in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, V, 463e.

[If I speak the truth, I shan't please you, but if
I please you at all, it's not the truth I'll be
speaking.]

τάχ' ἄν τις εἰκὸς τοῦτ' εἶναι λέγοι
βροτοῖσι πολλὰ τυγχάνειν οὐκ εἰκότα.

—Agathon, in Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, II, 24, 10, 1402a.

[Perhaps one might say that this is the very thing
that is probable, that to men many things happen
that are not probable.]

Such notions befit the author of the *Anthus*.

Finally, and as what seems to me the most important step in our argument, we must consider whether the *Anthus*-story, in agreement with Aristotle's statement concerning Agathon's play, presents personages (*ὄνόματα*) and events (*πράγματα*) which can be shown to have been invented for the occasion. Aristotle's remarks have, to be sure, left us in some doubt whether the *ὄνόματα* in question were new characters or new names, or both. Gudeman's suggestion that a new story was associated with a familiar name seems to me unacceptable.⁵⁶ And it is implausible

⁵⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 211: "A. will natürlich nicht sagen, 'Ανθη sei eine von Agathon neugebildete Personenbezeichnung, denn sie ist auch für uns noch ebenso nachweisbar (Suid. s. v. 'Αλκυονίδες ἡμέραι,' Eustath. ad Il. 9, 550 ff., Apostol. 2, 20) wie 'Ανθεύς, 'Ανθης (vgl. F. Jacoby, *F. Gr. Hist.*, II, 797 ff. im Kommentar) und 'Ανθος (Kirchner, *Prosopogr.* s. v.), sondern nur dass der Name in einer vom Dichter selbst erfundenen Fabel angewandt wurde." It is the clear meaning of Aristotle's text that the *ὄνόματα* of the *Anthus* were invented for the occasion.

that new names were given to traditional figures. There are sources and parallels for the ideas of every literary craftsman; what we should probably expect in Agathon's play, I think, is a new synthesis of plot materials, with personages not delineated elsewhere. And that is precisely what we do find in the *Anthus*-story. Its personalities cannot be identified with any others in myth or history; and their names have special and deliberate significance.

The name Autonous appears in Homer and Herodotus.⁵⁷ Hippodamias are very frequently found in myth.⁵⁸ Thus these names in the *Anthus*-story have been protected from suspicion of special invention for the matter in hand. But, as I have pointed out, the irony unquestionably intended in their usage implies the inventive ingenuity of an individual author; there is no conceivable connection between these characters and any other cognominal figures. It is true that the ὄκνος (the bittern or "starry" heron into which Autonous is transformed) does appear in story elsewhere with a similar play upon the word (ὄκνεω).⁵⁹ But Autonous is a unique creation. And similarly with Hippodamia. Pseudo-Aristotle gives us additional "facts" about the κορυδός (the crested lark of Hippodamia's metamorphosis): it keeps up a continual feud with the ἐρωδός, but is friendly with the σχουνίων.⁶⁰ Whether the *Anthus*-drama made use of these notions we cannot discern, but they would have been quite appropriate to its content. The existence of such supplementary details does not alter the fact that Hippodamia owes her name only to its ironic significance. As a personality she is without human parallel or source.

Anthus himself has a name which is not unfamiliar in the myths of the heroic age. This is not the place to argue whether

⁵⁷ It occurs twice in the *Iliad*: IX, 301 and XVI, 694; also in Herodotus, VIII, 38-39.

⁵⁸ Zwicker, in *R.-E.*, VIII, s. v. "Hippodameia," identifies ten characters of this name.

⁵⁹ For example, Pseudo-Aristotle, *History of Animals*, IX, 18, 616b 33, reports a standing myth to the effect that the bird was a transmutation from human slaves and adds that, in keeping with the name, the ὄκνος is the slowest of the herons. A mythical character by the name of Oenus appears in Pausanias, X, 29, 1, 2, and Diodorus Siculus, I, 97, p. 109.

⁶⁰ *History of Animals*, IX, 1, 609b 27 and 610a 9.

the primitive figure was a "Blumenkind" personifying vegetation and whether he had such a saga as was associated with Hylas, Hyacinthus, and Abderus.⁶¹ The protagonist of the early accounts, known variously as "*Anθos*," "*Anθas*," and "*Anθης*"⁶² can, in fact, have no association with Agathon's play, for there is no evident suggestion of material for drama in the myths. And the Anthus of Antoninus Liberalis is not a folk character. The ostensibly double significance of his name argues the peculiar ingenuity of his creation. Like Autonous and Hippodamia he belongs to this particular story, and not to any other.

There is no doubt that the author of the *Anthus*-story began with the tradition concerning hostility between the anthus-bird and the horse, reported in Pseudo-Aristotle as follows:

The anthus is hostile to the horse because the horse drives it out of its pasture. The anthus feeds upon grass. It has a white speck of film on its eye and is not sharp of sight. It imitates the neighing of the horse and terrifies the horse by flying at it. The horse drives it away and, when it catches it, kills it. The anthus lives by river and marsh; it has a light color and is skillful in finding food.

—*History of Animals*, IX, 1, 609b 14.⁶³

⁶¹ Cf. Crusius' criticism of Stoll's view in this connection, *R.-E.*, I, s. v. "Anthes."

⁶² Welcker, *op. cit.*, pp. 995-996, and Stoll, in Roscher's *Lexicon*, I, s. v. "Anthus," affirm the opinion that the several extant forms are variants of a single name. Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, IX, 22, 5-7, reports the tradition that an Anthes was the founder of Anthedon in Boeotia. According to Stephanus Byzantinus, s. v. "'Ανθηδών," it was Anthes' (Anthus') grandson Anthedon. Anthes was the eponymous hero of Antheia, Anthes of Anthana; cf. Pausanias, II, 30, 8-9 and Stephanus Byzantinus, s. v. "'Ανθάνα." Strabo, VIII, 374; XIV, 656, and Stephanus Byzantinus, s. v. "'Αλικαρνασσός," indicate that Halicarnassos was founded by Anthes; see above, p. 147, note 8. Plutarch tells a story (taken, he says, from Aristotle—and his testimony is in part substantiated by Athenaeus) of the youth of Anthes (Anthus?); cf. Plutarch, *Quaestiones Graecae*, XIX; Athenaeus, I, 31c; and Aristotle, *Fragments*, 554-5, s. v. "Τροιζηνίων." Plutarch, *de Musica*, 3, 4, also quotes Heracleides Ponticus to the effect that Anthes of Anthedon was a minstrel like Linus. Pliny, *Natural History*, VIII, 81, discusses a case of lykanthropny "ex gente Antri." Although historical figures by the name of Anthus are known, all of them postdate Agathon's play; cf. Kirchner, in *R.-E.*, I, s. v. "Anthus" and *Prosopographia Attica* (Berlin, 1901), p. 71.

⁶³ Cf. Pliny, *Natural History*, X, 116: "Equorum hinnitus *anthus*

In adapting such material to his purpose, the author invented his human characters and added a metamorphosis. In the original narrative, as I have indicated, Autonous, following the precedent set in selecting names for his other children, may have chosen the name Anthus to suggest the flowers of his uncultivated fields. Perhaps, too, there was something flower-like about his boyish character. In any event, he was odious to the mares. There may well have been a connection between Anthus' name and his nature and his fate!

Anthus' brothers (Erodius, Schoeneus and Acanthus) and his sister (Acanthyllis) clearly have names of double significance. Erodius was so denominated because "the ground went back" (*ἡρώησεν*) on Autonous. He was to become the ash-colored heron (*ὁ ἔρωδίος πέλλος*); and it is a curious fact that the details of the life of the bird, recorded in Pseudo-Aristotle,⁶⁴ are as disagreeable as the temper of Erodius in Antoninus Liberalis. No mention is made in Pseudo-Aristotle of the enmity of the *ἔρωδίος* and the *ἄνθος*, but, as we have noted,⁶⁵ the *ἔρωδίος* and the *κορυδός* are declared to be at odds. Of the white heron (*ὁ λευκερωδώς*), on the other hand,—the metamorphosed servant of Anthus—Pseudo-Aristotle has more pleasant things to say.⁶⁶ Acanthus and Acanthyllis took their names from the thistles (*ἄκανθαι*) of their father's fields; the accounts of the *ἄκανθίς* and the *ἄκανθυλλίς* do not seem significant for us, except perhaps for Pseudo-Aristotle's report of enmity between the *ἄνθος* and the *ἄκανθίς* and Aelian's remark that the *κορυδός* and the *ἄκανθυλλίς* are at odds.⁶⁷

nomine herbae pabulo adventu eorum pulsa imitatur ad hunc modum se ueliscens." And Aelian, *History of Animals*, V, 48: [πάλαι ἴσμεν] κορώνην τε ἔρωδιῷ, φίλα νοεῖν . . . [ἔχθιστα ἡν] ὁ δὲ αἰγιθος τῷ ὄνῳ . . . μισεῖ δὲ ἀλώπηξ κίρκον καὶ ταῦρος κόρακα, καὶ ὁ ἄνθος τὸν ἵππον. *Ibid.*, VI, 19: Ιδιάζει δὲ ταῖς μιμήσεσι τῶν τοιούτων ὁ τε ἄνθος καλούμενος καὶ ἡ σάλπιξ καὶ ἡ Ἰνγξ καὶ ὁ κόραξ, καὶ δὲ μὲν ἄνθος ἀποκρίνεται χρεμέτισμα ἵππου.

⁶⁴ *History of Animals*, IX, 1, 609b 21 f. and 18, 616b 33 f. Cf. also Pliny, *Natural History*, X, 164.

⁶⁵ See above, p. 156, note 45, and p. 161.

⁶⁶ *History of Animals*, IX, 18, 616b 33 f. Was the *παιδαγωγός* a white-beard in anticipation of his metamorphosis into the *λευκερωδίος*?

⁶⁷ Cf. Pseudo-Aristotle, *History of Animals*, IX, 1, 609b 27 and Aelian, *History of Animals*, IV, 5. On the habits of the *ἄκανθίς* and the *ἄκανθυλλίς* cf. Pseudo-Aristotle, *History of Animals*, IX, 1, 610b 3 f.; 13, 616a 5; 17, 616b 31. Cf. also Pliny, *Natural History*, X, 96. The proper name Acanthus is found in Thucydides, V, 19, 2; V, 24, 1 and

Gruppe has unconvincingly argued that the name of Schoeneus, Anthus' third brother, proves Boeotia to be the locale of the narrative, where there was a town called Schoenus.⁶⁸ It sufficiently explains the intention of the author of the *Anthus*-story to indicate the obvious double significance of Schoeneus' name: 1) the rushes (*σχοῖνοι*) which had grown up on his father's untended land, and 2) the *σχοινίων* (*σχοινίλος* or *σχοίνικλος*?), an unidentifiable bird mentioned in Pseudo-Aristotle, into which Schoeneus was appropriately metamorphosed.⁶⁹

It is, in fact, a matter of importance to our argument that no attempt was made by Antoninus Liberalis to associate this tale with a specific city or region; in this respect the *Anthus*-story is not only different from the vast majority of myths and folk-narratives found elsewhere, it is unique among the forty-one items in the *Συναγωγή*.

Of the *όνοματα* mentioned by Antoninus Liberalis there remains only Melaneus, the grandparent of Anthon. This figure does not appear in the action of the tale. Accordingly we cannot ascertain whether, like the other names, his had a special significance. It is rather common⁷⁰ and in fact appears, though without demonstrable implication for our argument, in the fourth metamorphosis (*Κραγαλεύς*) of Antoninus Liberalis. Since it was the custom of story-tellers to provide a genealogy by way of an ostensibly substantiating tradition for the protagonist, it is my notion that Melaneus was Antoninus Liberalis' independent contribution to the material. In any event, he cannot be associated with the mythological personages of the name.

We may say, with confidence, that all the characters who participate in the action of the story were invented for the occasion. As human beings, they have no direct source or parallel in traditional myth and no association with historically

Pausanias, V, 8, 6. On the name of the *ἀκανθίς* cf. also Aristotle, *History of Animals*, VIII, 3, 593b 3 and Aelian, *History of Animals*, X, 32.

⁶⁸ O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* (Munich, 1906), I, p. 267.

⁶⁹ *History of Animals*, IX, 1, 610a 8. Cf. *ibid.*, VIII, 3, 593b 6.

⁷⁰ No historical person of the name seems to be known, but several mythical figures, unrelated to the story of Anthon, bore it: cf. *Odyssey*, XXIV, 103; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, VIII, 77; Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, XIV, 304; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, III, 222, V, 128, XII, 306.

verifiable events. Could any group of characters more aptly be called "made" (*πεποιημένα*)? It is surely not coincidence.

It will have been observed that the *πράγματα* of the *Anthus*-story were derivative, at least in part, from a tradition of hostility between the anthus-bird and the horse. But this consideration in no way impugns the author's originality in adapting such material to a narrative about human beings. It is fairly clear, too, that he took certain details of his story from the legends of Diomedes and Glaucus.⁷¹

There are two mythological figures called Diomedes: 1) the son of Ares and Cyrene and 2) the son of Tydeus and Deïpyle. Possibly the two personalities were originally one, for, as Bethe remarks,⁷² both the Thracian Diomedes and Tydides were characteristically associated with horses.

The Thracian Diomedes, king of the Bistones, appears in stories of Hercules' eighth labor.⁷³ It was this Diomedes' unfriendly custom to cast all visiting strangers to his flesh-eating mares,⁷⁴ and Eurystheus commanded Hercules to bring these animals to Mycenae. Hercules, by a surprise attack on the guards of the horses, succeeded in abducting the beasts, but before he could get them on shipboard, the alarm had spread and Diomedes with his men fell upon Hercules and his company. Hercules entrusted the mares to his comrade Abderus while he withstood the assault. Diomedes was slain and the Bistones were repelled. But Abderus was the victim of the insatiable mares. Hercules, in his fury, threw the body of Diomedes to them. Then, after establishing a town, Abdera, in honor of his friend, he brought the beasts to Mycenae, glutted with their master. Here, at any rate, is a story of flesh-eating horses and a youthful victim. The parallel to the *Anthus* is, however, not sufficiently close to deserve further comment.

⁷¹ Tümpel, in *R.-E.*, VI, s. v. "Erodios": "Zu der ganzen Erfindung dieser Vögel- und Menschengeschichte sind Motive aus dem Mythenkreis des Diomedes entlehnt."

⁷² *R.-E.*, V, s. v. "Diomedes."

⁷³ The story is told by many mythographers: cf. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, II, 96; Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 30, 9; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, IV, 15.

⁷⁴ The mad appetite of the mares was induced, according to Aelian, by their drinking the waters of Cossinotes, a river in Thrace; cf. *History of Animals*, XV, 25.

"Horse-taming" Diomedes, son of Tydeus, a principal character of the *Iliad*, was connected with less fearsome animals.⁷⁵ Such resemblance as there is between his story and that of Anthus becomes apparent when we consider the account of his experiences in Italy reported by Antoninus Liberalis himself:

The Dorians

2) . . . When Daunus, the king of the Daunians, recognized him [Diomedes] on his arrival [in Italy], he asked him to join him in war against the Messapians for a share of the land and marriage with his daughter.

3) And Diomedes agreed to the bargain. And when, having drawn up his forces, he had turned away the Messapians and taken the land, he gave it to the Dorians who were with him to cultivate. He had two boys by the daughter of Daunus: Diomedes and Amphinomus.

4) After he had died at a ripe old age among the Daunians, the Dorians buried him in state on the island and they called it Diomedes' Isle. And they went on farming the land which they had received from the king, and it bore them just such a very large crop as you would expect from their knowledge of husbandry.

5) But when Daunus died the barbarian Illyrians, out of envy of their land, plotted against them; and, appearing suddenly, the Illyrians destroyed the Dorians while they were all offering sacrifices on their island. By the will of Zeus the bodies of the Greeks disappeared, but their souls changed into birds.

6) And even now when a Greek vessel drops anchor, the birds come to the seamen; but they flee an Illyrian ship and all disappear from the island.

⁷⁵ Together with Odysseus Diomedes stole the noble white steeds of Rhesus from the Trojan camp, *Iliad*, X. In an earlier conflict (*Iliad*, V, 25, 164, 263) he captured the horses of Dares, Echemus (or Chromius), and Aeneas. With them he was victorious in the chariot races held in honor of Patroclus, *Iliad*, XXIII, 400. The temple of Hippolytus in Troezen was dedicated by Diomedes; cf. Pausanias, II, 32, 1. According to Antoninus Liberalis, XXXVII, he married the daughter of Daunus (Eupippe). Elsewhere we learn that he founded Argyrippa; cf. Vergil, *Aeneid*, XI, 246 and Strabo, VI, 283. All these references suggest Diomedes' association with the "horse-idea."

This story, it will be seen, contains a metamorphosis *eis ὄρνιθας*, and the birds (probably herons) are said to react to the Illyrian ships much as the *ἄνθοι* react to horses.⁷⁶ One notes that the land given to the Dorians is fruitful because of their skill in husbandry, while, by contrast, the *Anthus*-story emphasizes Autonous' poor farming. Pliny reports that the pasture of the *limes Diomedis*, ostensibly the land granted to Diomedes by Daunus, makes horses mad.⁷⁷ These details, in more and less degree, compel comparison with the narrative of Anthus.

Another account tells of enmity between Daunus and Diomedes.⁷⁸ Although Diomedes had come to the king's aid against his foes, it was on the promise only of a grant of land. After the victory had been achieved Daunus gave him a choice between the whole land and the whole booty. Alainus, Diomedes' bastard brother, who was in love with Daunus' daughter Eupippe, somehow cheated Diomedes by accepting for him the booty and yielding the land to Daunus. Accordingly Diomedes placed a curse upon the fields that they should not bear harvest unless eared by his own descendants. (We are reminded, if vaguely, of the barren meadows of Autonous.) Diomedes was later murdered by Daunus and his comrades were turned into *έρωδιοι*.⁷⁹

The Diomedes legends no doubt influenced the author of the *Anthus*-story. But, though he used certain motifs from these familiar myths, he was in no sense creating a variant of a stock account. The selection of details shows a conscious eclecticism very different from the methods of folk narrative. And on the whole, the indebtedness is slight.

Our author may also have used to some extent the legends of Glaucus of Potniae and Glaucus of Anthedon. On the assumption that the *Anthus*-story is traditional myth, Gruppe contended that it unites these two legendary figures.⁸⁰ As in the case of

⁷⁶ A similar legend (not associated with Diomedes) is recounted in Phile, *de Animalium Proprietate*, Περὶ ἔρωδιῶν.

⁷⁷ Pliny, *Natural History*, XXV, 94. (Have we a reference to a similar myth in Sophocles, *Ajax*, 144?)

⁷⁸ Lycophron, *Alexandra*, 592-632.

⁷⁹ Holzinger in his edition of Lycophron's *Alexandra* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1895), note to vs. 597, attributes the *έρωδιοι* to an ancient scholium on *Iliad*, V, 412. Cf. also Strabo, VI, 284 and Stephanus Byzantinus, s. v. "Διομήδεια."

⁸⁰ Gruppe, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 83, 267. Both Potniae, an inland city, and

the two Diomedes, a single original may reasonably be postulated for the two Glauci,⁸¹ but our narrative cannot be used as evidence of the fact.

Of Glaucus of Anthedon (the Γλαῦκος πόντιος of Aeschylus' lost drama, probably satyric) the parentage is very uncertain, but according to one account he was son of Anthedon and Alcyone.⁸² This Glaucus, a fisherman, noted how fish stranded on the seashore were revived by contact with a certain plant. (The plant was like that which Helius obtained on the Islands of the Blest to fodder his horses.⁸³) He tasted it and, inspired, leapt into the sea and became a sea deity. There are many versions of the story of Glaucus' leap (Γλαύκου πηδημα).⁸⁴ Now it is true that there was in heroic legend an Anthas of the town of Anthedon and, further, an Anthedon who was grandson of an Anthus (Anthes?);⁸⁵ but the Anthus of Antoninus Liberalis, be it repeated, has no demonstrable connection with these primitive figures; he is an artistic creation. The prepotent plant is a far cry from the *limes Diomedis* and mad horses, but it serves at least to illustrate the fact that there was well established belief that horses are peculiarly sensitive in matters of diet!

Glaucus of Potniae (Aeschylus' Γλαῦκος Ποτνιεύς) is of slightly more significance to us. This son of Sisyphus and father of Bellerophon⁸⁶ was the possessor of a fine herd of mares which, becoming mad, devoured him. Their frenzy was attributed to various agencies: 1) their eating of a plant which grew at Potniae;⁸⁷ 2) their drinking of a spring at that place;⁸⁸ 3) the instigation of Aphrodite who was angry because, like Hippolytus, Glaucus spurned her or because he kept his mares from stallions

Anthedon, on the Euboean sea, are in Boeotia. An Anthas is clearly associated with Anthedon. See remarks on Schoenus, p. 164. On Anthas of Anthedon see p. 168, and p. 162, note 62.

⁸¹ Cf. Kirchner, in *R.-E.*, VII, s. v. "Glaucos."

⁸² Athenaeus, VII, 296b; cf. *ibid.*, VII, 296c.

⁸³ Alexander Aetolus, in Athenaeus, VII, 296e.

⁸⁴ Cf. Pausanias, IX, 22, 5-7. Another version in Athenaeus, VII, 297a.

⁸⁵ See above, p. 162, note 62.

⁸⁶ *Iliad*, VI, 154-156.

⁸⁷ Cf. scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 318.

⁸⁸ Aelian, *History of Animals*, XV, 25.

in order to insure their fitness;⁸⁹ 4) their lack of their usual diet of man's flesh.⁹⁰ Aeschylus' lost play dealing with this character presumably used a version of the story which told of the hero's death when the mares upset their master's chariot in the races in Iolcus; the dramatist's explanation of the beasts' madness is uncertain.⁹¹ Glaucus and Anthus share a similar fate due to the madness of thoroughbred mares; the unwholesome plant appears in one version.

It is my conclusion that the *πράγματα* of the *Anthus*-story, though not entirely without precedent in other accounts, represent a unique combination of materials and constitute, accordingly, an original work of creative authorship. There is cause for astonishment that such a brief narrative—barely two pages of Teubner text—should present a synthesis of such multifarious elements, “of imagination all compact.” Ornithology and heroic legend form a background for essentially new characters and episodes. The ingenuity of the whole composition argues more powerfully than anything else that the story, if built in large part from folk-lore, is not a folk product. It provides, it seems to me, a most remarkable lesson in the workings of the creative mind. As surely as with Coleridge, the “unifying power” of the imagination presided over the conception of this tale—its true claim to originality. When one studies its character, it becomes apparent that it most strikingly fits Aristotle's description of Agathon's lost play. The peculiar distinction of the story is just this, that its personages and events are *made* (*πεποιηέντα*).

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⁸⁹ Servius, on Vergil's *Georgics*, III, 268.

⁹⁰ Probus, on Vergil's *Georgics*, III, 267.

⁹¹ Cf. H. W. Smyth, *Aeschylus*, Loeb Classical Library (1930), II, p. 391.

THREE PAPYRI OF DIOSCORUS AT THE WALTERS ART GALLERY.

The Library of the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore contains three papyri¹ whose contents show that they come from the archives of Dioscorus of Aphrodito.² One is the heading of a petition from Dioscorus to the praetorian praefect of the East of 551 A. D. and the other two are literary efforts of Dioscorus. They will be referred to below as Papyri Walters 1, 2, and 3. All are glued to cardboard and the two which are broken into several fragments have been placed together in the wrong order. It will be a long and extremely delicate task to free them from their mounting. Meanwhile, since there is little likelihood that writing will be found on the verso, it has been thought advisable not to delay publication any longer. Photographs of the papyri have been cut up and arranged in the proper sequence and then re-photographed to secure the plates which accompany this article.

P. Walters 1. Inv. no. 519. 7.5 cm. x 81 cm. Broken into a number of fragments, which were then glued to cardboard in two strips in the following order: Upper strip, b, a, c; lower strip, g, e, d, f. The papyrus is light brown in color, stained dark brown in the middle and at the extreme right end. The writing is on the recto in the same hand as the first page of P. Masp. 67002,³ illustrated in P. Masp. I, pls. II-IV. It is

¹ Listed in the catalogue of sale of the collections of Jean P. Lambros, Athens, and Giovanni Dattari, Cairo, sold in Paris, June 17-19, 1912, under *Collection Giovanni Dattari du Caire*, group 18, 616 as "inscriptions démotiques sur papyrus." The group comprised these three Greek and one Coptic papyrus (Walters, Inv. no. 518). I am grateful to the Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery for their kind permission to publish the Greek papyri.

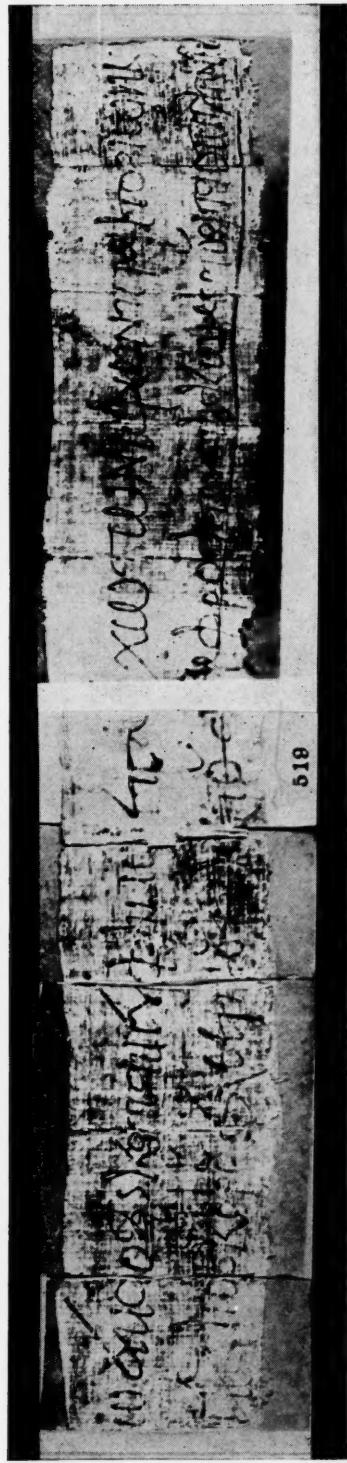
² For Dioscorus and the publication of his archives cf. H. J. M. Milne, *Catalogue of the Literary Papyri in the British Museum* (London, 1927), p. 68. To the references given there may be added V. Martin, "A Letter from Constantinople," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XV (1929), pp. 96-102, Keydell in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *R.-E.*, Suppl. VI (1935), pp. 27-29, and F. Della Corte on P. Berl. 10580, *Rivista di Filologia*, LXIV, N. S. XIV (1936), pp. 399-404.

³ The following abbreviations are used in referring to publications of papyri. Roman numerals denote volumes.

P. Masp.—Jean Maspero, *Papyrus Grecs d'Époque Byzantine*, in

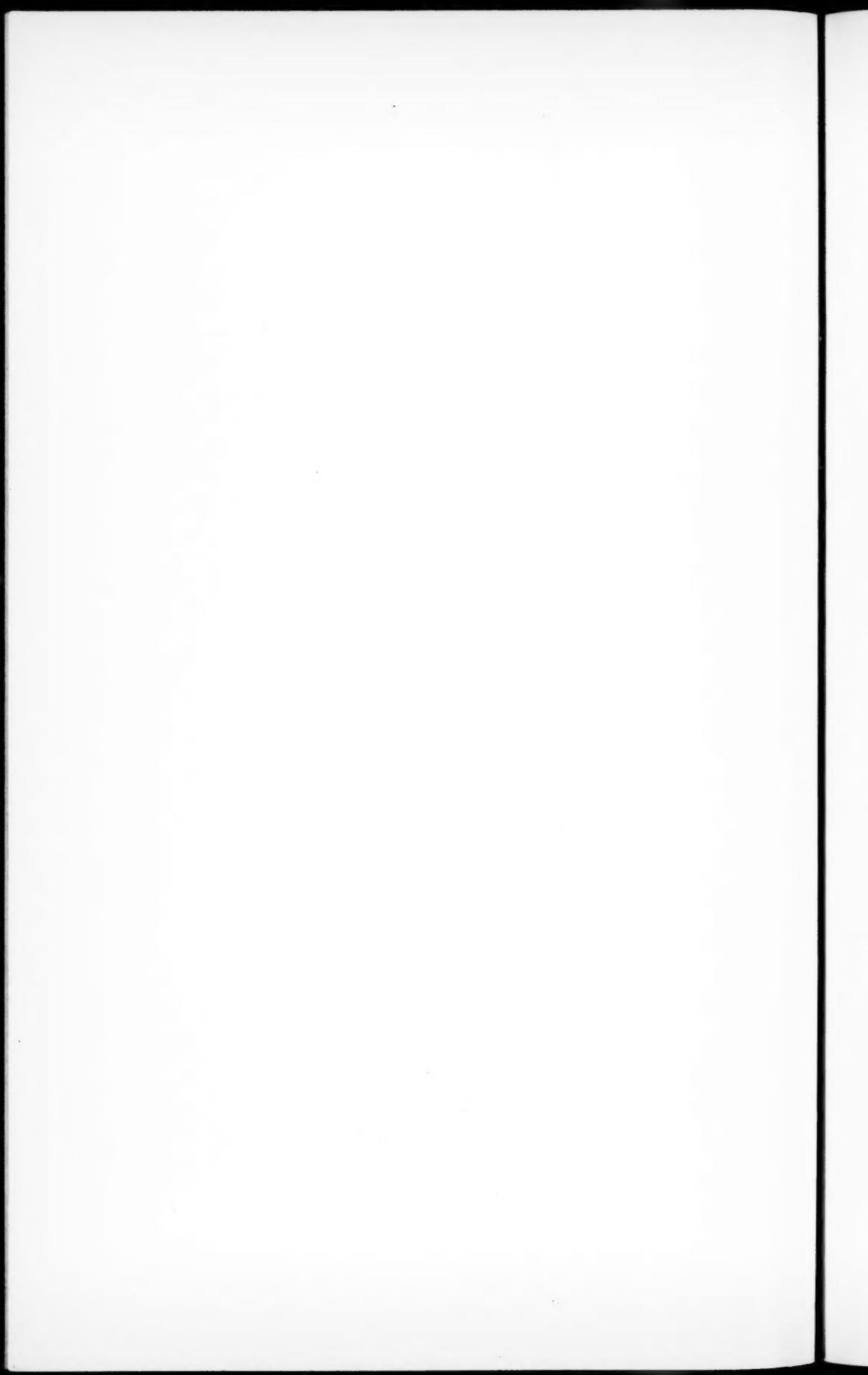


P. Walters 1, a-e



P. Walters 1, d-g





extremely difficult to read with the naked eye on the dark portion of the papyrus, but an infra-red photograph has made it plainly visible.

[φ Φλαον]^a [ίω] μ αρ|[ιανῶ]| [τ] ακκάβω μ αρκέλλω 'Ανινᾶ 'Αδδᾶ|
 † δέησις καὶ ἵκεσία
 [τ ώ] τ ^b ἐνδ̄ | οξ̄ ς καὶ πανεν|[φήμω ἐπά]| [ρ] χω τῶν ἱερῶν πραιτορίων
 π ^c Διο σκόρο^d ἐλεειν|[οὐκητό^e ἀ]| [π'] 'Αφροδίτους τῆς
 κώμης τοῦ 'Ανταιοπολιτ ν(ο)μ^f

The color of the papyrus supports the rearrangement a, b, c. The arrangement c, a, b, would give five complete names, but would place a and b which are light in color between the end of c and d which are very dark. Also it is to be expected that the name begins with Φλάονιος. When only one of a series of names is given the last name is used (v. P. Lond. V, 1863, note 1). Thus Novella 129, referred to below, supports this rearrangement.

1. ἐνδοξοτάτω.

2. παρὰ Διοσκόρου ἐλεεινοῦ οἰκητοῦ τοῦ 'Ανταιοπολίτου νόμου.

A horizontal line beginning in the η of οἰκητοῦ is drawn through the next three letters and continued under the rest of the heading.

Notes

1. Ιακκάβω: This spelling is found also in P. Masp. 67030, A, 1.

'Ανινᾶ: The name occurs in P. Lond. V, 1904, 1 Λδ(γος) 'Ανινᾶ (?).

2. οἰκητοῦ: Not found in the other papyri of Dioscorus. οἰκήτωρ in P. Masp. 67002, 2; 67007, 6.

'Αφροδίτους: The reading is clear. 'Αφροδίτης in all other papyri except P. Masp. 67032, 12 ἀπὸ κώμης [καλο]υμέν[ης 'Α]φρ[οδίτης]ων.

Translation

To Flavius Marianus Jacobus Marcellus Aninas Addaeus, the most glorious and praiseworthy praefect of the sacred praetoria,

Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, I (nos. 67001-67124), 1911, II (nos. 67125-67278), 1913, III (67279-67359), 1916.

P. Flor.—*Papiri Fiorentini, documenti pubblici e privati dell' età romana e bizantina*, II, ed. D. Comparetti (Milano, 1911), III, ed. G. Vitelli (1915).

P. Lond.—*Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, V, ed. H. I. Bell (London, 1917).

BKT—*Berliner Klassikertexte*, V, ed. Schubart and Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Griechische Dichterfragmente* (1907).

appeal and supplication from Dioscorus, wretched inhabitant of Aphrodite, the village of the Antaeopolite nome.

Novella 129 of Justinian, of the year 551 A. D., is addressed to Ἀδδαίω ἐπάρχῳ πραιτωρίων.⁴ We know from P. Masp. 67032 that Dioscorus was in Constantinople in that year. No petition thus far published in the Dioscorus papyri is addressed to the praetorian praefect and only one contains the name of Dioscorus as the petitioner, though several are believed to come from him.⁵ This heading is doubtless from a rough draft or copy of the document submitted to the official addressed, such as the other petitions are also.

P. Walters 2. Inv. no. 517. 23 cm. x 45 cm. Written on the recto in the uncial hand of Dioscorus, as illustrated in P. Masp. I, pls. XXVIII, XXIX, lower portion, and Milne, *op. cit.*, pl. VII. The papyrus is stained a dark brown at the right edge. A blank space along the upper edge shows that the first line of the poem has been preserved. Either the poem was left incomplete, since a space sufficient for another line and a half has been left blank at the bottom of the papyrus, or only half the width of the papyrus has been preserved and a second column stood to the right of this.

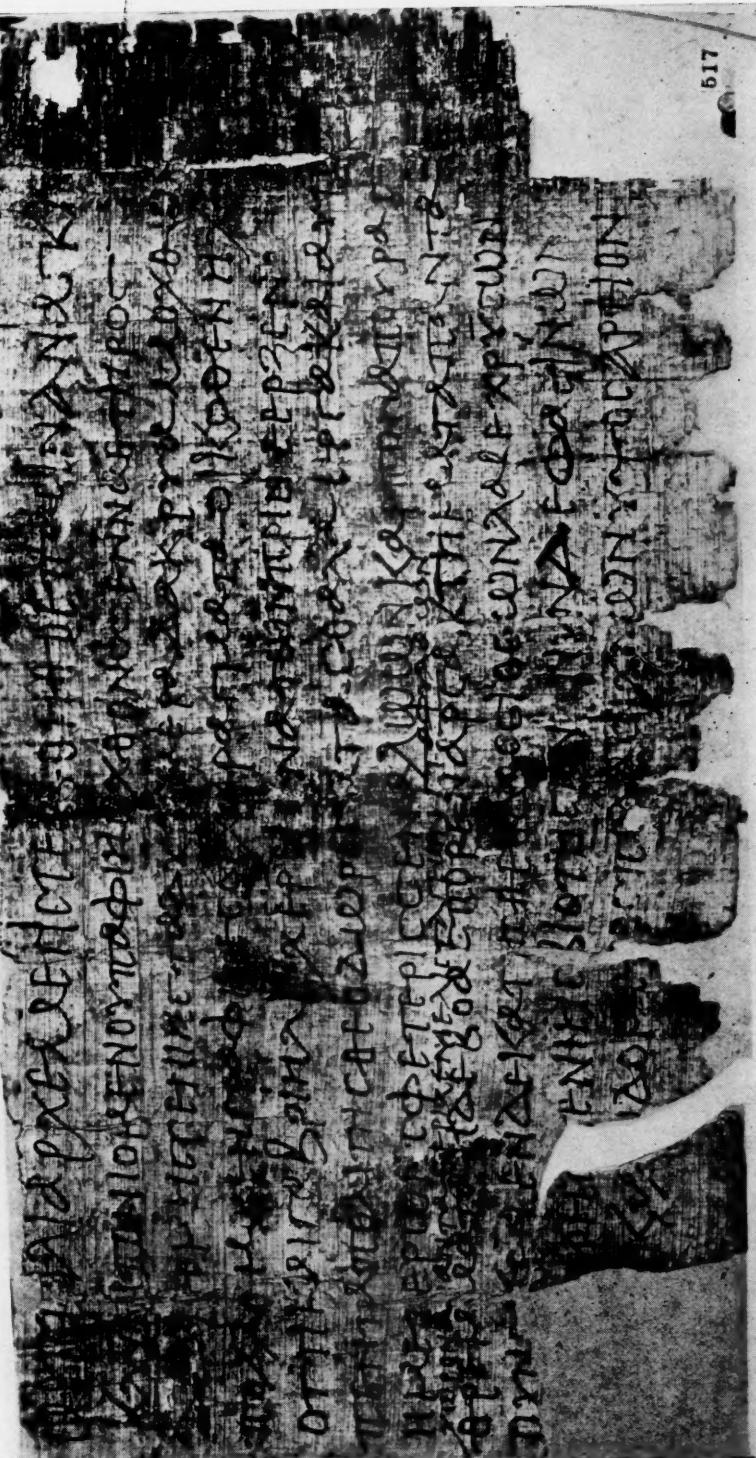
ὅ πτολίαρχε μέγιστε βοηθόε πᾶσιν ἀνάγκης.
 κλῦθι πονιομένου Παφίης χθονὸς ἐνναετῆρος.
 δέξεο 'μῆς γενῆς τὰ δυσίμερα δάκρυα μόχθων.
 πολλὰ μοὶ ἐν γραφίδεσσι χαράγματα οἴκοθεν ἡχθη
 5 ὅττι καὶ Γαβριῆλις χερέσσα τῶν πρὸν ἔέρξευ
 Πενταπολίτης Θεόδωρος ἀτάσθαλα ἔργα καὶ αὐτὸς
 ἡμετέρων σφετέρισσεν ἀλωῶν καρπὸν ἀποίρας.
 χῶρον ἄ[π]αντα θέριζε μελισταγέων σταφυλάων.
 θρέμματα ἥδε βύσας πόρεν ἀρ σὰ κτήματα πάντα
 10 οὖν[ε]κεν ἐνδεκάτης Θεόδοσσιος ὡν λάβε χρυσῶν
 [ἡμετέρης [γ]ενῆς βιοτήσιον. Νῦν δὲ φαεινῶν
 [σοῦ προκυλ[ιν]δόμε[ν]ος πόδας ἵχνων ὑψος "Αρειον

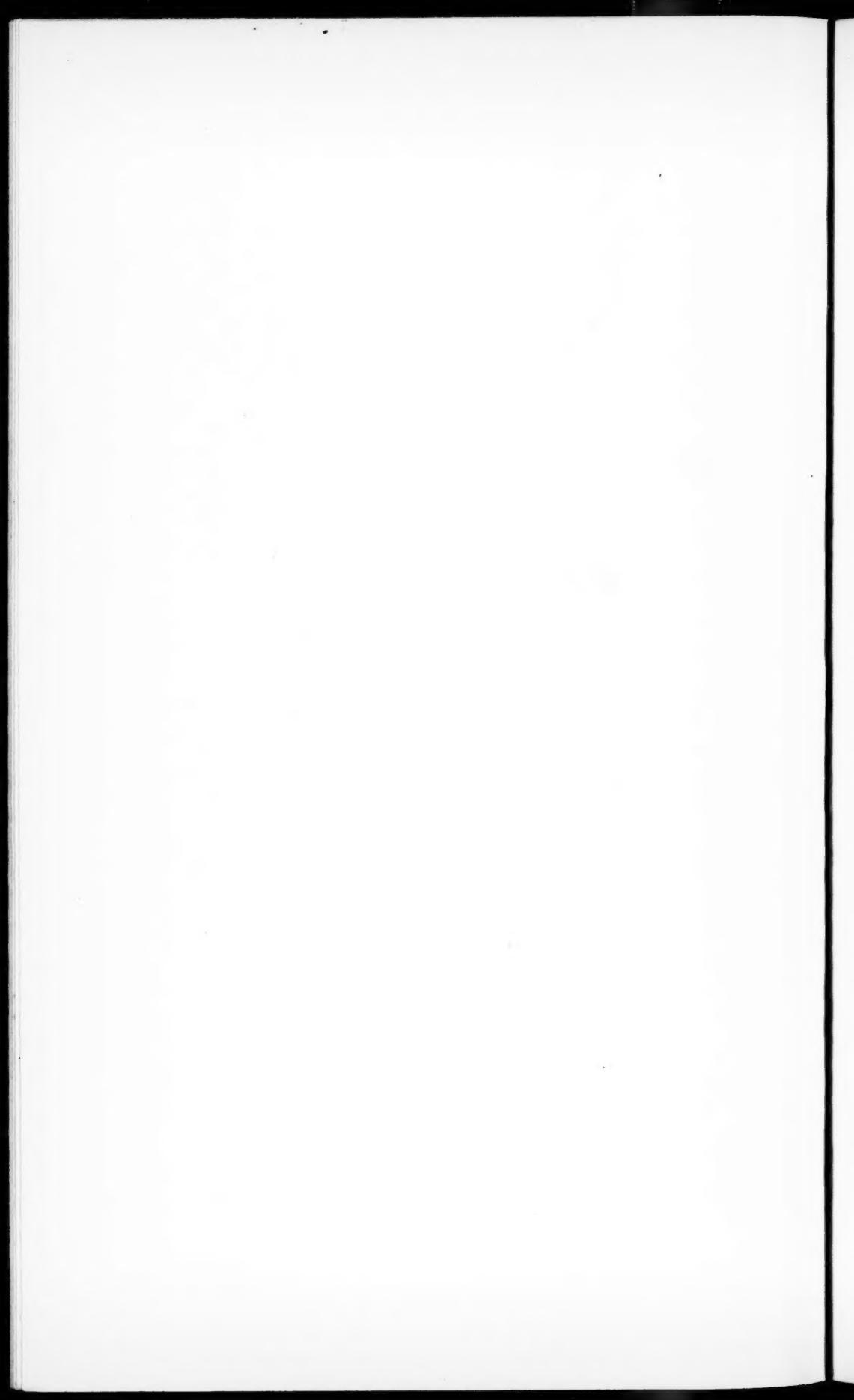
2. MS κλῦθι 3. MS δυσίμερα 5. MS οἵτι 8. This line was added later in smaller letters in the space between 7 and 9 in ink of a brownish

⁴ *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, Vol. III, *Novellae*, Schoell-Kroll, 5th ed. (Berlin, 1928).

⁵ P. Lond. V, 1674, 1675, 1677; P. Masp. 67019; P. Flor. III, 295, 296.

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tint. The rest is written in black ink. 9. MS *apsa* The line is in ink of a brownish tint. It may have been added with 8 to separate the interpolated line from the succeeding one rather than to mark the quantities. 10. MS *χρῦσων* 12. MS *ὕψος* The piece containing the first letters of 11 and 12 which have been preserved was broken off and then glued directly onto the following preserved part. The fragment also contains on its upper edge the bottom of *κε* in *ουνεκεν*, 10, which shows that it should be moved over to the left, thus giving space for the insertion of one or two letters.

Notes

1. Cf. P. Masp. 67097, v., B, 20: ὁ στρατιάρχε μέγιστε.
2. This gives the reading for BKT V, 11, 3, 54 as κλῦθι πονιομένων Παφίης χθονὸς ἐνναετήρων. For πονίω, cf. P. Masp. 67120, v., B, 18 πᾶσι πονιομένοις. Aphroditopolis is called "land of the Paphian" also in P. Masp. 67120, v., C, 34.
3. An aorist imperative δέξο is found in *Il.*, 19, 10. Perhaps through a misunderstanding of the formation of this word Dioscorus coined δέξεο. The traces of the doubtful letter suggest ε rather than α. μῆς apparently on the analogy of ἔμοῦ, μοῦ. The form γενῆ does not appear in other papyri of Dioscorus. γενεῇ in P. Masp. 67097, v., C, 13; 67120, v., B, 7. The substitution of ι for ε is due to Coptic influence. Cf. Mayser, *Grammatik der Griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemaerzeit* (Leipzig, 1923), I, 1, p. 80.
4. ἐν γραφίδεσσι χαράγματα: Cf. BKT V, 11, 3, 34.
5. Γαβριῆλις: Cf. Ιακύβιος P. Masp. 67118, 13; Ιακύβις P. Masp. 67086, 2. I have understood this line and the next to mean "also Gabriel did wicked deeds, worse than those which Theodorus of Pentapolis formerly committed," supposing that Dioscorus had in mind τῶν πρὶν ἄ. Another translation might be, "both Gabriel did worse deeds than his former ones and Theodorus of Pentapolis himself did wicked deeds," placing a period after αὐτός. The impossibility of fitting the name into the meter has produced an extra syllable in 6. In P. Masp. 67177, v., A, 20 Dioscorus solved the difficulty by writing Πενταπολιήτον Θεοδώρου.
8. μελισταγέων σταφυλάνων: Cf. Milne, *op. cit.*, 100, D, 5.
10. Θεοδόσσιος: The spelling with double σ is probably to make a long syllable.
12. κυλινδομαι occurs in P. Flor. II, 114, p. 3, 6: σὲ κυλινδομένη παρὰ ποστι.

Translation

O mightiest ruler of the city, helper to all in time of need, hear a distressed inhabitant of the land of Paphos, receive the unlovely tears of my family for their hardships. Many written documents did I bring from home, (declaring) that Gabriel also did wicked deeds, worse than those committed formerly by

Theodorus of Pentapolis. He took and appropriated the harvest of our threshing floors. He reaped all the place of the honey-dripping grapes. The flocks and cattle he gave then as your possessions entirely, because of the money which Theodosios took in the eleventh induction, the meager livelihood of our family. And now prostrating myself before your feet, the martial crown of radiant footprints . . .

This petition in hexameters, addressed to a high official and recounting the misfortunes suffered by the author, is similar to the poems published in P. Masp. 67097, v., B, 67131 (in iambics), 67177, and BKT V, 11, 3. Line 10 gives a clue to the cause of the complaint and to the date. Theodosios is to be identified with the official of the same name in P. Masp. 67029 and 67024,⁶ and possibly in 67123 also. P. Masp. 67029 is a fragmentary imperial rescript answering an appeal against the injustice of Theodosios with regard to the public taxes in the 11th induction just past. The date given suggests that ἐπινεμήσεως or ἴνδικτίονος is to be understood with ἐνδεκάτης in P. Walters 2, 10. The exact nature of the wrong committed by Theodosios is explained in P. Masp. 67024, 1-17. Dioscorus is clearly the petitioner. His father was wont to collect the taxes of Aphrodito and pay them into the provincial office. In his absence Theodosios collected the taxes of the village but did not turn them over to the public treasury. Consequently the officials of the provincial office exacted the taxes a second time. On complaint being made an imperial rescript was granted (67029), but not even then was satisfaction obtained against Theodosios, and a second appeal was made. Since P. Masp. 67024 is to be dated around 551 A. D. when Dioscorus was in Constantinople, the 11th induction referred to in 67029 and in P. Walters, 2, 10 must be the one of 547-548 A. D. On what authority Theodosios acted is not indicated. He may be the Theodosios who is the σκρινιάριος καὶ προέχων in P. Masp. 67123, 3, of 537 A. D., acting as the representative of the σρατηλάτης,

⁶ These two papyri are discussed by M. Gelzer, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, V (1913), pp. 370 f. and J. Partsch, *Nachrichten der k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil. hist. Klasse*, 1911, pp. 202-224.

the duke of the Thebaid. We can not say that he held this same position ten years later.

It is difficult to identify Gabriel or to determine his position. His seizure of Dioscorus' crops and cattle was due to Theodosios' appropriation of the taxes. Two results of Theodosios' actions are set forth in P. Masp. 67024. A second exaction of the taxes was made (11-13) and because of this some of the landholders in Aphroditos took property (*πράγματα*) belonging to Dioscorus and his brothers (24-27). Clearly in the course of these difficulties Dioscorus and his brothers had inherited their father's responsibilities and were forced to make good the loss incurred by the taxpayers. If Gabriel is one of the landholders, it seems strange that he alone is singled out for complaint. Also this interpretation does not appear to agree with 9. The meaning of this line is obscure. It implies that Gabriel confiscated the possessions of Dioscorus in the name of the official to whom the poem is addressed, presumably for the non-payment of taxes.⁷ Gabriel would then be a subordinate state official. But according to P. Masp. 67024 the taxes were paid a second time.

The deeds of Gabriel are said to be worse than the earlier outrages of Theodorus of Pentapolis. P. Masp. 67177 is a poetical appeal for aid against the woes resulting from the violence of this Theodorus. The woes seem to consist of the exaction of four pounds of gold from Dioscorus and his consequent impoverishment. Maspero identifies Theodorus with Θεόδωρος ἐλεεινὸς ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Πενταπολιτῶν ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας of P. Masp. 67168, 55. The mention of Theodorus' earlier misdeeds implies that they are familiar to the dignitary addressed and it seems likely that he is the one to whom P. Masp. 67177 is addressed also. There he is not named but his ancestry is extolled and it may be that his father was named Meleager and his grandfather Basilius. Maspero believes he is the duke of the Thebaid and understands 23, in which Dioscorus says that he has come outside his native land to the country of the king of all, to refer to a visit to the residence of the duke. It is more probable that Constantinople is meant and that the poem is addressed to the praetorian praefect, especially if 19 is to be understood literally.⁸

⁷ *κτήματα* apparently does not here have the meaning of "farms."

⁸ "Αρκια πήματ' ἔπασχον ἐνυρροθίοισι θαλάσσης.

It is also possible that the emperor is appealed to in P. Walters 2. The imperial rescripts P. Masp. 67024, 67029 show that the complaint against Theodosios was brought to his attention. At a later period Dioscorus addressed a poem to Justin II (P. Masp. 67183). But the opening line, laudatory and extravagant as it is, is in itself too brief for the adulation with which one would expect Dioscorus to address the emperor. The choice seems to lie between the duke of the Thebaid and the praetorian praefect.

P. Walters 3. Inv. no. 516. 22 cm. x 4.5 cm. + ca. 4.5 cm. + 30 cm. Broken into five pieces: beginning of 1-3: A; of 4-9: B; of 10-13: C; remainder of 1-9: D; fragment of undetermined position: E. The papyrus is glued to cardboard with B at the upper left hand corner, followed by A, then D. E is placed a slight interval below A, between 8-9 of B and 4-6 of D. C is placed apart in the lower left-hand corner. A blank space above 1 indicates that the beginning of the poem has been preserved. A narrower blank margin on the left edge of A, B, and C gives the left margin of the poem. 10-13 may be wrongly numbered. C contains the initial letters of 4 lines, but it may not belong directly below B. There is nothing to indicate the proper position of E. The writing is on the recto and is that of the uncial hand of Dioscorus. The papyrus is very dark.

A	B	C 10	D	E
ώς [υυ -] πενί[η]ς ἐπιτάρροθος ἔγγὺς ἀνάκτων	χειμ [υυ - ν] μενων ἐπεὶ κτήτορες αἰὲν ἔοντες			εοσιοφ
ἀγγ[ελίην] ἔρειν πενίης κακομηχάνου βίης	οὐκ ἐ[πέχουσ'] ἐπίτηδες ἐπίφρονα ἔργα παλάμων			αυτις
δόφρα[κε μὴ] βλεφάροισιν ἵδω μόρον νιῶν ἐμεῖο	πρός τ[ε θεοῦ] μεγάλοιο καὶ ἀθανάτου βασιλῆος			με
	ἄμμι[ι καὶ ἐν] κλινέεσσι. Χαράξατε νεύματα θεῖα			
	ἡμετ[έρων] καμάτων ἄμπταυμά τε μερμηράων			
	δόφρα[ν -] τησούσιν κτ . . . π . βίη			
		εκτ		
		εν		
		ηςν		
		εν		

8. MS μερμηρᾶων 9. MS βίη

Notes

1. Possible readings are ὁ σὺ μέγας or ὁς γενετήρ as in BKT V, 11, 3, 33. ἐγγὺς ἀνάκτων: Cf. Milne, *op. cit.*, 98, col. 2, 8.
4. χειμεριζομένων would fit the space but not the meter.
5. παλάμων: Cf. *Etym. Magnum*, p. 647, 51.
6. Identical with BKT V, 11, 3, 53.
7. κλινέσσι: Treated as a heteroclite noun.
8. Cf. Hesiod, *Theog.*, 55: λησμοσύνην τε κακῶν ἅμπαυμά τε μερμηράν.

Translation

. . . protector of poverty, associate of rulers, speak a message of the baneful violence done to poverty, that I may not see with my own eyes the death of my sons [who are suffering hardships], since the perpetual owners purposely do not restrain the planned deeds of the murderers, by the great god and the immortal king, against us even in our beds. Write divine commands as a respite of our toils and cares that . . .

This fragment of a hexameter poem is similar to P. Walters 2. The *κτήτροπες* of 4 may be the landholders against whom complaint is brought in P. Masp. 67024. There nothing is said about deeds of violence. The phrases, *ἐγγὺς ἀνάκτων* and *νεύματα θεῖα* suggest that a high official, nearer to the emperor than the duke of the Thebaid, is addressed. He may be the praetorian praefect.

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SOPHOCLES, STATISTICS, AND THE *TRACHINIAE*.

On the date of the *Trachiniae* literary critics have said many things. They have not all been very good critics, but their judgments have had at least one thing in common: they have all been subjective. Figures are objective. The purely objective figures compiled by Siess,¹ for example, demonstrated that the *Trachiniae* is an early play; they demonstrated too that the *O. T.* is the latest, though their author more prudently said that "it belongs to the late group." The most recent writer on the point that I have seen, Prof. T. B. L. Webster,² is less confident. He accepts the evidence of antilabe, but "Statistics for resolution, elision, and other metrical peculiarities do not give such clear results." This paper will not touch elision and other metrical peculiarities, but will examine antilabe briefly, resolution less briefly, and will produce, I hope, results very clear indeed, but such as to cast a certain gloom over the automatic application of stylostatistics to Sophocles.³

Figures are objective. Those for antilabe⁴ are *Ajax* 8, *Antig.* 0, *Trach.* 2, *O. T.* 10, *Electra* 15, *Phil.* 30, *O. C.* 44. The *Trachiniae* obviously belongs to the *Ajax-Antigone* period; it all works beautifully—except for the odd fact that antilabe should be the only stylistic feature to work at all. But here are some more figures: antilabe occurs first in the *Trachiniae* at v. 409, in the *Ajax* at v. 591, in the *O. T.* at v. 625, in the *Electra* at v. 1209. It gets later and later, like the moon. Does this mean anything? Perhaps not; but what of these facts, that the first 1200 verses of the *Philoctetes* contain 20 antilabae out of 30, the first 1200 of the *Electra* 0 out of 15 (out of 27 if all

¹ *Wiener Studien*, 1915, 244 ff.

² *Introduction to Sophocles*, p. 189.

³ Not necessarily to Euripides, whose dramatic mind, and therefore methods, were different. Sophocles more than any other dramatist reflects the speaker's mind at the moment in language, rhythm, even syntax; there is even the suggestion of individual styles for Oedipus, Creon, Tiresias. This is not evident in Aeschylus, and in Euripides the opposite is manifest. An "external" style like Euripides' is much more likely to change chronologically and measurably.

⁴ This count omits antilabe in melic iambics. My figures throughout are based on Pearson's text.

antilabae are counted)? If antilabe and resolution are what we may call unconscious details of style in Sophocles, as resolution no doubt is in Euripides, they may be good tests of date; but then we should expect them to occur indiscriminately throughout a play. If they are not unconscious, but meant something to Sophocles, we must find out what it is that they meant—however tentatively we may have to describe this—and then let our criticism use the substance and not the shadow.

Let us begin with antilabe. That in the *Electra* and in the *O. T.* it gravitates to the end of the play is no accident. Sophocles did not allow accidents. To see what it meant to Sophocles we must look as well as count, and we need not look very hard. It becomes evident at once that antilabe was a means of conveying dramatic excitement; not any and every kind of excitement, or we should certainly have it in the earlier scenes of the *Electra* and *O. T.*, but particular kinds—hard, and it may be dangerous, to define, but quite easy to feel.

Antilabe tends to occur in runs, and that at the end of a scene. In the *Ajax*, *O. T.* and *Electra* (plays which we will consider together) this happens at *Ajax*, 591-4, 981-3, 5, *O. T.*, 626-9, 1173-6, *Electra*, 1220-6, 1503-4—well over half of the total number. This is natural, and suggests at once that there is nothing casual in antilabe; it is used to convey or accompany a feeling of tension, and this, in Sophocles, is usually greatest at the end of a scene. But not any kind of tension. Not such, for example, as we feel during Antigone's last scene; this calls for lyrics; but Teucer's grief (*Ajax*, 981 ff.), being more personal, less solemn, naturally issues in quasi-lyrical antilabe. Nor does antilabe convey the intellectual tension that goes with debate, however acrimonious, for the particular nervous swiftness is wanting. It is naturally made expressive of abruptness in thought, manner or action; hence *Ajax*, 591-4 (Ajax dismissing Tecmessa), *O. T.*, 625-8 (the end of Oedipus' quarrel with Creon), *ib.*, 677 (the exit of Creon), *ib.*, 1120 (expressive of Oedipus' determination). At *El.*, 1209 it emphasizes Orestes' action in forcibly taking the urn from Electra; more vividly at *ib.*, 1323 the sudden change in Electra's tone. Or it goes with poignancy of emotion or swiftness of action, as at *O. T.*, 1173 ff. (the end of the discovery), *Electra*, 1475 ff. (the Aegisthus-scene), 1220 ff. (the end of the recognition-scene), 1347, 1349—

a certain abruptness (surprise or impatience?) in Orestes, and in Electra extreme nervousness at the reappearance of the Paedagogus.

Here are all the cases of antilabe that these plays offer, and, although labelling these effects is ungrateful work, we can fairly say that in all a certain note is perceptible. The dramatic excitement is tense, but there is in it also a certain sharpness or hardness, or as in the Aegisthus-scene, a certain palpitating quality. In general, it is the opposite to the kind of excitement that prevails in the *Antigone*. To call it "realism" would save some trouble but create more; for, although the passage with the urn, Electra's sudden change of tone, Oedipus' attack on Creon, the grim treatment of Aegisthus may be called realistic, it is obviously a realism which does not cease to be high poetry and imaginative drama; so that if we say "realistic" because we must say something, let us not be bewildered when we do not find in these passages, or in these plays, the metrical resolutions that go with "realism" in a totally different sense.

It is equally clear that in these plays the scenes which do not use antilabe have dramatic excitement indeed, but not of this sharp or palpitating kind. Oedipus has his altercation with Tiresias as with Creon, but it is an altercation, not a row. Still less have we this personal, rough-edged quality in the opposition between Antigone and Creon; these collide on a plane on which antilabe would be all wrong. Or again, the second of the scenes between Electra and Chrysothemis rises, like some of those mentioned above, to a high emotional climax, only it is not of the kind that makes our hearts bump. Sophocles knows perfectly well what he is doing; it is no more accidental that in general antilabe occurs towards the end of plays than that in the *O. T.* the first stages of the long process of discovery move in leisurely couplets while the last goes swiftly in half-lines.

But is not this simply to substitute one term for another? If antilabe accurately reflects the degree of "realism" in a play, is it not the same thing to arrange plays in order of increasing "realism" as of increasing antilabe? Perhaps it is, but at least we know now what we are doing; we know that we are making the assumption that Sophocles did steadily grow in "realism," and this assumption we can test by reading the plays.

In fact however it is not the same thing at all. Now that we know for what purpose—however vaguely we may choose to define it—Sophocles used antilabe, what do we do when we find it only twice in the *Trachiniae*? Do we conclude that this play is highly poetical, like the *Antigone*, non-realistic, and therefore early? Not if we can read the play itself. We shall read it, and then look at the two antilabae. They occur close together (vv. 409, 418), when the interfering Messenger is brusquely dragging the truth out of the reluctant Lichas. Once more Sophocles is doing what the dramatic mood of the moment suggests. Where else in the play do we find that palpitating excitement or that high tension or that rough-edged quarrelling which produced antilabe in the other plays? Nowhere. There is excitement elsewhere, but not of this kind. Is this because the play is akin to the *Antigone*? The way to decide if the plays are akin or not is to read them. If on the other hand the *Trachiniae* is a later play, was it beyond Sophocles' competence to refrain from using a device which was not called for?

We have still to consider the two plays in which antilabe is more frequent. In the *Philoctetes* there are twice as many as in the *Electra*. Moreover there are three times as many resolutions—and for the same reason. The play is tragic only in the Greek sense of the word. It is serious intellectual drama, certainly with a background of *πάθος*, but not presenting a tragic vision of life; it has as its basis a double psychological problem (the effect of suffering on Philoctetes and of Philoctetes on Neoptolemus), and as its superstructure a deftly-managed intrigue issuing in the appropriate "happy ending." The action is busy and naturalistic; Odysseus jumps out from behind rocks and Philoctetes has an attack of his malady. It is inevitable that the figures for antilabe and for resolution should soar, and, though we need hardly consider the antilabae in detail, we must observe that they do not soar at random. The first is at v. 54

Ne. Τί δῆτ' ἄνωγας;
Od. τὴν Φιλοκτήτου σε δεῖ . . .

It seems to convey Neoptolemus' reserve and suspicion (cf. *Electra*, 1347); and if it is held that such a use of it implies a certain loosening of style the answer is that in this play there

are particular reasons why the style should be loosened. The second, a familiar type, occurs at v. 466; the third not until v. 674. We remarked above that two-thirds of the antilabe in this play fall in the first two-thirds of it, but so far are they from being evenly and as it were casually distributed that while the 1079 trimeters in the play contain 30, the first 571 contain only 3. The next 90 have 15. Sophocles is still doing exactly what he intended, and it remains to prove that these intentions developed chronologically.

The *O. C.* brings stylo-arithmetic to confusion. Antilabe goes up from 30 to 44, but resolution comes down from 11 per 100 trimeters to 5.2. What can this mean? Is the play in one respect more "realistic" than the *Philoctetes* but in another less? How does it compare with the *O. T.*, which has less antilabe but more resolution (5.6 per 100)? It contains much more vigorous action than the *O. T.*, and, as it were, more sharp and particular action. There are a lot of coming and goings (Ismene, Creon, Polyneices, Theseus), and these, merely as events in themselves, have a different emotional quality from the coming and goings in the *O. T.*. Our feelings in the *O. C.* are more concentrated on the present action, less on the tragic consummation. There is violence—the seizure of Antigone, the attempted seizure of Oedipus—and there are several highly personal and emotional scenes—the greeting of Ismene, the appeals to Theseus. In all this there is distinctly to be perceived that personal sharpness of note which we found for example in the quarrel between Oedipus and Creon. In this sense the *O. C.* is more realistic than the *O. T.*; more realistic even than the early scenes of the *Philoctetes*.⁵ On the other hand the dramatic conception underlying this quick and sharp action is a highly poetic one; not more so perhaps than that of the *O. T.*, but obviously more purely poetic than the intellectual interest of the *Philoctetes*. It is clearly wrong to speak of "realism" in the ordinary sense in connection with a play that ends more imaginatively than any since the *Eumenides*.

In a special sense realistic, in the general sense highly poetic—

⁵ A stage-effect like that of Neoptolemus looking for the cave while Odysseus remains below ought perhaps to be called naturalistic. At all events it is quite different from the "realism" of the *O. C.*

can we expect figures to represent this? But of course they do. They represent facts, and if Sophocles is still master of his craft we ought to expect to find him using antilabe freely but making his metre much more severe than it was in the *Philoctetes*. It would be very convenient if the play with most antilabe had most resolution too, but since these two plays, and these two effects, are so different, it would bring little credit to Sophocles. It is not, after all, stylo-arithmetic that is brought to confusion, but the uncomprehending use of it.⁶

We may survey the antilabe in the *O. C.* summarily. Ismene arrives. What she is going to say may be important, but her mere arrival, Oedipus being as he is, is a fact of the greatest emotional significance. It accounts for 9 of our 44 cases of antilabe. At v. 652 Oedipus comes to the climax of his appeal to Theseus; 5 more. Creon is seen coming—another fact of immediate significance in itself; antilabe (v. 722). He threatens to seize Antigone, the chorus protests, she is seized, and he threatens Oedipus too. This produces antilabe 12 times. Need we continue? Only once does it seem possible to say that antilabe is casual—at v. 46. Elsewhere it is the direct reflection of the violent action or emotion in which the play is so rich.

I do not maintain that Sophocles' style remained static in its subtlety, or that these figures have nothing to do with chronology. It is tenable that Sophocles would not have used antilabe so freely had he written the *O. C.* twenty years earlier—supposing that to be possible; or that there would perhaps have been less of it had he not already exploited it for a particular purpose in the *Philoctetes*. What I do maintain is this; if we suppose that all the plays written during the *Philoctetes*—*O. C.* period contained a high number of antilabae, regardless of their tone and feeling, we are only insulting Sophocles the craftsman. This position will be reinforced by our analysis of resolution, where we can be more definite in proportion as the figures we deal with are higher.

The number of resolutions per hundred trimeters⁷ are *Ajax*

⁶ Siess' elaborate tables look impressively scientific, but what can be the use of a method which cannot consider the major fact that the *O. C.* is tragic, the *Philoctetes* not?

⁷ With hesitation I have included as trisyllabic feet words like *πόλεως*, though as *-eως* is so often scanned as a monosyllable I doubt the neces-

6.1, *Antig.* 3.8, *Trachin.* 5.9, *O. T.*, 5.6, *El.*, 3.3, *Phil.* 11, *O. C.*, 5.2. There is not much sign of chronology here—and why should there be? Sophocles never sat down to write a couple of hundred trimeters, but always to write lines for this character or that to speak, in given circumstances. There is no reason to assume that the lump figures of a play must be illuminating, except on the assumption, obviously unlikely and easily disproved, that Sophocles, like Euripides, used a standard dramatic style. In fact, we must look as well as count. We will take the plays scene by scene, and consider those scenes whose rate of resolution differs markedly from the average for the play. To save arithmetic, I shall express this rate as one resolution every so many trimeters. To some extent my figures are bound to be arbitrary—although as they have enjoyed the great advantage of being checked by Mr. E. Harrison they are at least correct. However, the margin of error is necessarily large, so that only substantial variations from the norm are worth considering.

Ajax. Average, 1 in 17½.

Vv. 1-133, 9 in 133 = (1 in) 15: 263-347, 6 in 84 = 14: 348-430, 0 in 16: 430-595, 16 in 166 = 10: 646-692, 1 in 47 = 47: 719-814, 5 in 96 = 19: 815-865, 10 in 51 = 5: 866-973, 3 in 48 = 16: 974-1184, 9 in 202 = 22: 1223-end, 3 in 179 = 60.

It will be noticed at once that the rate is high in 815 ff. That happens to be Ajax' farewell-speech; in ten consecutive verses towards the end of it there are no less than five resolutions. And how does this speech compare with others of Ajax'? 646 ff. (*ἀπανθός μακρός*) is 1 in 47; 430 ff. (*αισι*) is 6 in 71. The point is clear enough; the more controlled mood of the former speech is reflected in the figures. The altercations that end the play do not raise the rate at all; they produce excitement, but not the pathetic excitement which, as we shall find, is the common

sity of this. Lyric trimeters are included. In view of the common (though I think mistaken) convention that resolutions in proper names do not count, I have not counted them. Sophocles, I am sure, did; so evidently careful a craftsman would obviously avoid ordinary resolutions in proportion as he could not avoid the others. The inclusion of these "inevitable" resolutions would in most cases make no relative difference, but in a few would strengthen the case here presented.

source of resolution. Nor is there resolution, either here or in any other play, in the passages where antilabe occurs. As we have already seen in comparing the *Philoctetes* and the *O. C.*, resolution and antilabe "mean" different things; the picture that emerges from this counting is perfectly consistent.

The four resolutions in the Menelaus—Teucer scene are two pairs, 1064,5 and 1132,3. In the latter *πολέμως* echoes *πολεμίους*—a rhetorical point of perhaps no special significance. The former passage is

ἀλλ' ἀμφὶ χλωρὸν ψάμαθον ἐκβεβλημένος
ὅρνισι φορβὴ παραλίοις γενήσεται.

Is it forced to see in the consecutive resolutions⁸ a reflection of Menelaus' trembling rage? One would certainly say so, did not such points occur so often.

Antigone. Average, 1 in 26.

Vv. 1-99, 4 in 99 = **25**: 163-331, 3 in 169 = **56**: 384-581,
4 in 193 = **48**: 630-780, 4 in 150 = **37**: 883-928, 3 in 46 =
15: 988-1114, 6 in 127 = **21**: 1155-1256, 9 in 102 = **11**:
1277-end, 3 in 26 = **8**.

In this, the most ideal of Sophocles' plays, it is no surprise to find resolution receding. There is passion in abundance, but not the kind of personal emotion that brings resolution. Creon in particular is not the man to be given resolution of the metrical kind. But even more significant than the scarcity of this device is its distribution. The messenger-speech alone contains 7 in 52 verses—one-fifth of the total number. The messenger-speech in the *Ajax* contained 0 in 38 verses; that was a speech of earnest warning, this of passionate action, date of composition is irrelevant. The third scene contains four resolutions—three of them are consecutive (vv. 419-421), and occur in the de-

⁸ Consecutive resolution (by which I mean one resolution in each of two consecutive verses) is very rare. I shall mention all cases.

The real rate in the last scene is brought down by the remarkable series of resolutions in proper names, 1292, 3, 9, 1302. They may be "inevitable," but they obviously suit Teucer's mood at the moment. So with all other unusual accumulations of such resolutions; see below. (I should not have thought of investigating these separately but for Mr. Harrison's kindness in sending me his lists.)

scription of the storm. Finally there are three in the 14 verses which describe Eurydice's death. These three passages then account—and obviously by design—for 13 of the 36 resolutions in the play.

Two further points may be noted. Of the three resolutions in 883 ff. two are consecutive (916, 7). Their effect therefore will be enhanced, and, without insisting more than we should on what they "mean," we can say that they are appropriate. The Haemon-scene has four resolutions (counting the doubtful πόλεως at 656). The three certain ones all occur during the climax, 742, 746, 760. It may be asked if three resolutions in forty verses would be noticed at all, if the audience was attending to the play and not to the metric? Of course not—and what of that? The dramatic temper of a passage depends on an enormous number of separate effects, of which resolution is one; it is not necessary that this one should be separately noticeable. In a full orchestral climax the harp will probably not be heard at all except by those who are specially listening for it; nevertheless the composer brings it in, because it will contribute something that he wants. Elsewhere, in a more lightly-scored passage, he may use a definite harp effect; elsewhere in the *Antigone* Sophocles used three consecutive resolutions—a definite effect. This manipulation of resolution is found so regularly and so intelligibly in Sophocles that accident is entirely ruled out. The delicacy of the workmanship is remarkable; it recalls those curves, imperceptible except by measurement, in the contemporary Parthenon.

Trachiniae. Average, 1 in 17.

Vv. 1-93, 5 in 90 = 18: 141-204, 1 in 64 = 64: 225-496, 12 in 272 = 23: 530-633, 4 in 102 = 25: 663-820, 13 in 156 = 12: 863-895, 4 in 17 = 4: 896-946, 4 in 51 = 13: 1044-end, 14 in 212 = 15.

The first four scenes have little of note. The resolutions occur fairly regularly, except that Deianeira's speech in the second scene has none. (In ordinary narrative Sophocles shows a marked tendency to avoid resolution.) In the passage 350-597 the Messenger's speech has three close together, Deianeira's and Lichas' none. In this I see no significance, unless perhaps it is a reflection of the Messenger's eagerness. The higher rate in the

scene 663 ff. is natural; the first twenty verses that Hyllus speaks contain five resolutions. Three in the two verses 878, 9 (the Nurse announcing Deianeira's death) are eloquent, and four more in her narrative do not surprise us. Finally, though the dying Heracles, naturally, is not in general given resolutions, he has a remarkable outburst of five in six verses (1095 ff.) when recounting the monsters he has overcome. The quasi-pictorial effect is obvious.

O. T. Average, 1 in 18.

Vv. 1-150, 8 in 150 = **19**: 216-462, 11 in 247 = **22**: 512-648,
6 in 137 = **27**: 649-688, 1 in 15 = **15**: 698-862, 10 in
165 = **16**: 911-1085, 13 in 175 = **13**: 1110-1185, 0 in 76
= ∞ : 1223-1296, 8 in 74 = **9**: 1312-end, 11 in 158 = **14**.

The outstanding fact is that the most painfully moving scene in the whole of Greek Tragedy has no resolution at all. The still quality of its tension is obviously intolerant of this effect—though it admits antilabe. With this exception, resolution, which is remarkably steady during the first part of the play—both in gross and in detail—becomes regularly more frequent up to the last scene, where the rate is brought down by its rarity in that magnificent last speech of an Oedipus already master of himself again (only one resolution in 36 verses).

The Priest has four in ten verses (18, 20, 26, 27) while describing the condition of the city; contrast the solemn rhythms with which he closes. Oedipus' speech 216 ff. falls logically, and rhythmically, into two parts; in the first he proclaims the decree against the murderer and there are no resolutions; in the second he elaborates the curse and speaks of his personal interests, and there are four.⁹ Once more we see that altercation does not mean resolution; the Tiresias-scene has it only six times and the Creon-scene only three. There is dramatic excitement, but the tone is, shall we say, too hard for this particular effect. But as soon as Iocasta appears we find consecutive resolutions (636, 7), with a third almost at once. In the big Iocasta-scene the rate rises a little; and we may at least note the fact that Oedipus, while asking the fatal questions of Iocasta, has three resolutions close together (741, 750, 754), while from

⁹ Consecutive resolutions, 256, 7. The point seems clear enough.

774 to the end of his narrative-speech he has none, except the consecutive ones at 825, 6.¹⁰

Then the Messenger arrives, and whereas no page in the Oxford Text has yet contained more than three resolutions, we now find five on one page (vv. 932 ff.), and four more on the top of the next. What is more, this outcrop ends in the remarkable *πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν ὁ δὲ θανὼν* of v. 967. It is not by accident that these nine resolutions¹¹ in 36 verses coincide with the emotions produced by the Messenger's tidings¹²—nor is it accidental that this one scene contains nine of the nineteen proper-name resolutions in the whole play. After this, we get to grips with the business of discovery. As in the crucial scene which follows, resolution becomes scarce—3 in 116 verses. The messenger-speech sends the rate up with its tale of death; 7 in 50 verses: *Περόνας* may have been inevitable, but *περόναις βλέφαρα,* with *σταγόνας* so close (1276, 8) suggests design. So do the 6 resolutions in 47 verses in Oedipus' next speech.¹³

Electra. Average, 1 in 30½.

Vv. 1-85, 2 in 84 = **42**: 251-327, 4 in 77 = **19**: 328-471, 5 in 144 = **29**: 516-659, 5 in 144 = **29**:¹⁴ 660-822, 9 in 163 = **18**: 871-1057, 1 in 187 = **187**: 1098-1231, 2 in 131 = **65**: 1232-1287, 1 in 12 = **12**: 1288-1383, 4 in 96 = **24**: 1398-1441, 0 in 26: 1442-end, 4 in 66 = **16**.

This, the grimmest and most austere play of Sophocles', is metrically the most regular. Even so, it is astonishing to find 318 consecutive trimeters with only three resolutions between them (871 to 1281). Electra's own inflexibility seems to have affected the metre.¹⁵ The brilliant messenger-speech (6 in 84)

¹⁰ The emotional effect is obvious, and is increased by the tribrach *Πόδινθον* in the next verse.

¹¹ Vv. 934, 38, 42, 55, 59, 60, 67. In this passage neither *πατέρα* nor *θάνατον* nor *θανάσιμον* are unavoidable words.

¹² Contrast the quality of the emotion of 1110 ff. This will illustrate the significance of resolution better than my adjectives.

¹³ There are consecutive resolutions from Creon, 1427, 8, if *Ιερός* is trisyllabic.

¹⁴ Coincidence, not misprint.

¹⁵ Except in the messenger-speech Sophocles is clearly reducing resolution to a minimum. Neglecting that speech, we find no fewer than 12 out of 31 resolutions accounted for by *πότερον* (*πότερα*) and *πατέρα*.

is much more regular than those of the *O. T.* (rate, 7) and of the *Antigone* (rate, $7\frac{1}{2}$); at the end Orestes dies, falsely, without the tribute of a resolution—and surely it is right, in keeping with the fierce exultation shown by the Paedagogus, that instrument of vengeance.

Special points, naturally, are rare. Only three times, outside the messenger-speech, are resolutions allowed to come together. The repetition of *πότερον* (535, 9) is perhaps a purely rhetorical effect, but *πατέρα, ιερά* (279, 281) may be held to suggest a touch of quick emotion, while v. 433, *οὐδὲ οσιον ἔχθρας ἀπὸ γυναικός* is, in so bare a play, quite remarkable, the reflection of Electra's indignation.

Philoctetes. Average, 1 in 9.

Vv. 1-134, 6 in 134 = **22**: 220-390, 8 in 171 = **21**: 403-506,
8 in 104 = **13**: 519-675, 11 in 157 = **14**: 730-826, 21 in
88 = **4**: 865-1080, 36 in 215 = **6**: 1218-end, 28 in 211 =
7½.

Nothing could show more clearly than the *Philoctetes* how, and why, Sophocles varied his rate of resolution not from decade to decade but from minute to minute. Over the whole play the rate is twice as high as in the *O. T.*, yet in the first two scenes it is slightly lower here than in the first two of the other play. Accident or habit are at once ruled out. In the *Philoctetes*, especially in the later scenes where the numbers are so high, analysis could be almost endless, but we must select. In the second scene Neoptolemus' false narrative of 48 verses contains no resolution; Philoctetes', 5 in 63—consecutive at 308, 9, and it is easy to see why. The third scene as a whole raises the rate, but we must not take it as a whole. To v. 465 the dialogue is reminiscent and informative, and the rate is 2 in 63; then comes Philoctetes' appeal, and the rate becomes 6 in 40 (with consecutive resolutions 484, 5, 6). In the next scene Philoctetes' short expression of joy brings no resolutions; we may ask why not, and may see the answer to the question presently. The false story of the Merchant is also barren—it is ostensibly indifferent in tone. At Philoctetes' interruption (578; note his *τί με κατὰ σκότον*) this assumed indifference takes a sudden turn, and the rate rises from 0 in 59 to 11 in 98. Neoptolemus' pseudo-astonishment is reflected in three consecutive resolutions at 600-3.

The scene beginning at 730 uses resolution at five times the rate of the first two scenes. Either we shall read the scene and understand the point at once, or, bowing to figures φωνάντ· ἀσυνέτοισιν, conclude that it was written twenty years later. The figures are high enough to warrant one closer analysis. From 856 to 894 the action is outwardly calm and there are two resolutions in 30 verses. While Neoptolemus beats about the bush the rate remains low (895-914, two resolutions, both given to Philoctetes). Then the confession comes and the avalanche begins; from 917 to the end of Philoctetes' speech, 45 verses, there are 15. Even so, when towards the end of his speech Philoctetes turns from denunciation to a deeper tone of despair, we find, after δίπλων, ten verses without one resolution. This suggests the answer to the question left unanswered above; Philoctetes' joy, like his despair, was too solemn for tribrachs.

O. C. Average, 19½.

Vv. 1-116, 5 in 116 = **23**: 254-509, 22 in 254 = **11**: 549-667,
 5 in 119 = **24**: 720-885, 4 in 153 = **38**: 891-1043, 9 in
 153 = **17**: 1096-1210, 2 in 115 = **57**: 1249-1446, 12 in
 197 = **16**: 1447-1555, 2 in 71 = **35**: 1579-end, 4 in 91 = **23**.

As antilabe is very frequent in this play it is worth while to point out again that it has no tendency to coincide with resolution.¹⁶ So much for undifferentiated "realism."

The scenes which differ notably from the average are the second and fourth. The high rate of the former is due to the beginning and the end. Oedipus' speech 258 ff. has 7 resolutions in 34 verses; the last part of the scene 466 ff., has 6 in 45; the middle section only 9 in 175. It is not obvious why the dialogue about the sacrifice should use resolution so often (nor why there are consecutive resolutions at 305, 6); but the effect in 258 ff. is clear. In the first part of the speech he is arguing, and the rate is 2 in 17; in the second he makes his appeal, and the rate jumps to 5 in 17, with four of them in four verses (281 ff.). In the fourth scene the rate is low. Creon begins with a smooth, false speech, in which, naturally, there are no resolutions. Oedipus replies with indignation, and this means resolution neither here, nor in the *O.T.* (*Oedipus-Creon*,

¹⁶ V. 333 the only exception.

Oedipus-Tiresias) nor in the *Ajax*. Between 800 and 875 occurs that tense action that calls for antilabe but not for resolution—4 in 70 verses.

The scene 885-1043 has points of interest. Theseus has two considerable speeches, Oedipus and Creon only one each. There are nine resolutions, seven in Oedipus' speech, two in Creon's; Theseus is the calm figure. If we compare this speech of Oedipus' with his speech 760-800 (in which there are no resolutions at all), we see at once a corresponding difference of tone; that one is intellectual, this one personal and emotional. Of the two next scenes, the first is markedly below the average rate, the second above it. The one gains the consent of Oedipus to see Polyneices, the other presents the actual interview. The interview is interesting. All the resolutions which Polyneices is allowed in his first two speeches occur between 1309 and 1330, a passage in which we may perhaps say that he is making his most urgent and personal appeal; at all events, there they are (1312, 25, 27). This too is the passage in which Sophocles allows himself his biggest accumulation (by far) of resolutions in proper names—seven of them. But these are inevitable? They are not in the least inevitable (as an analysis will show) in passages in which Sophocles has reason for keeping down his resolutions. (These special resolutions affect none of the passages which I have noted as being bare of ordinary resolutions except the last scene of the *Ajax*, where the effect is designed [see above], and the prologue to the *Electra* [4 special resolutions] where the dramatic tone is relatively indifferent.) A second point in this interview. There are consecutive resolutions at 1356, 7—where Oedipus refers to his banishment from Thebes at his sons' hands. They seemed vaguely familiar; I turned back to 440, 1, where Oedipus refers to the same facts, and found consecutive resolutions too. This is not leit-motif, mnemonic or pattern: it is simply that the same emotion is treated in the same way. Whether Sophocles did this consciously or instinctively makes no difference to us; that question means only are we to call him astonishingly sensitive and careful, or only astonishingly sensitive?

Lastly, there is the messenger-speech. Resolutions in these have been *Ajax*, 0 in 38; *Antigone*, 7 in 52; *O. T.*, 7 in 40;

Electra, 6 in 84. If the rate here were the same as in the *O. T.* and *Antigone*, we should find ten to twelve resolutions in the 81 verses; there ought however to be far less, in proportion as this speech is more solemn and imaginative. I counted anxiously; there are three.

So much for resolution. What we have found out from its fuller data strongly supports what we suspected about antilabe, namely that it was used or not according to Sophocles' conception of what the drama needed at the moment. It suggests too that lump figures for elision and so on will not be of the slightest use until they are similarly analysed. If elision turned out to vary with dramatic mood, it would be fresh evidence for the subtlety of Sophocles' dramatic technique; if it turned out to be demonstrably independent of dramatic mood (as it obviously is not at *O. T.* 370-1 at least), then it might be evidence for something else. In resolution, emphatically, there is no drift towards realism, colloquialism, or anything else. When all the resolutions in a play are lumped together, it is possible to say that they give no clear results—so much the better for Sophocles' credit as a poet; but if, reflecting that Sophocles was a dramatic poet, we pay some attention to the drama, we get results which are very clear indeed. Resolution and antilabe are dramatic instruments, used perhaps consciously, perhaps unconsciously, but at all events consistently.

The figures for antilabe do indeed rise—though the figures *Antigone* 0, *Ajax* 8, *O. T.* 10, *Electra* 15 do not tempt us to date the *Ajax* at about 433. To some extent the rise may have been chronological; Sophocles may have liked the effect more and more. But he kept his hands on all the controls always, and an absolute change in his style is of little importance when weighed against its infinite suppleness. Was then Sopocles, alone of great men, exempt from a steady development? Obviously not, but the significant development in him is not in style but in what moulds style, the nature of the dramatic conception underlying his plays. His dramatic interests change; the earlier plays are based on a universal tragic conception, the later ones on an interest in a particular character or situation. Here, if we can use it, there is some basis for dating—rough indeed, but resting on fundamentals. Resolution shows us nothing but what we

know already, the degree of personal passion with which Sophocles wished to invest a play, scene, or passage. The presence of antilabe raises a presumption of lateness (a presumption which we can test by reading the play) because antilabe is the natural reflection of that late interest in the particular dramatic action. Absence of antilabe means only that the dramatic action of the play did not call for it. And why not? We must read the play and find out. Literary criticism is an inexact science, but until criteria are found independent of the poet's thought, it is the only valid one. If for example only the first half of the *Philoctetes* had survived, any critic worth listening to would risk the opinion that it was a late play, basing this opinion on the nature of the dramatic conception on which it is based. The stylo-statist however would be compelled to point out that it contains only 3 antilabae, while the first half of the *Ajax* contains 4. The objectivity of figures can be deceiving.

So with the *Trachiniae*. If the student of Sophocles can show that from the *Ajax-Antigone*, through the *O.T.-Electra*, to that diverse pair *Philoctetes-O.C.*, there is a steady and natural development in the poet's dramatic and tragic way of thinking, such that it accords satisfactorily with the conception and the technique and the structure of each play; and if this general development gives sound reason for putting the *Trachiniae*, say, where Jebb put it, round about 420; he has the right, even the duty, to reject antilabe and resolution as evidence.¹⁷ The incidence of these in the play is already explained by the nature of the particular dramatic action.

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¹⁷ There is also the argument (used to support an early date for the *Trachiniae*) that during one period Sophocles used poorish plots (*zweispaltig*), and then abjured them forever. I cannot discuss this here, but I would not accept this, any more than counting, as a substitute for criticism.

CICERO'S AEDILESHIP.

Although Cicero frequently mentions the aedileship which he held in 69 B. C.¹ he nowhere states whether he was curule or plebeian aedile. An indication of the character of the office is however given in the following passage (*Verr.*, ii, 5, 36-7) :

Nunc sum designatus aedilis; habeo rationem quid a populo Romano acceperim; mihi ludos sanctissimos maxima cum cura et caerimonia Cereri Libero Liberaeque faciundos, mihi Floram matrem populo plebique Romanae ludorum celebri-tate placandam, mihi ludos antiquissimos, qui primi Romani appellati sunt, cum dignitate maxima et religione Iovi Iunoni Minervaeque esse faciundos, mihi sacrarum aedium pro-curationem, mihi totam urbem tuendam esse commissam; ob earum rerum laborem et sollicitudinem fructus illos datos, antiquorem in senatu sententiae dicendae locum, togam praetextam, sellam curulem, ius imaginis ad memoriam posteritatemque prodendae.

The prerogatives of office listed here, particularly the curule chair, and the reference to *ludi antiquissimi qui primi Romani appellati sunt* have seemed to indicate that Cicero held the curule aedileship, and modern scholars have been unanimous in believing that he was elected to that office in 70 B. C. But the passage has always been puzzling, for the games which Cicero mentions, the Ceriales, the Florales, and the most ancient games to the Capitoline Triad, seem at first sight to include festivals that belonged to both types of aediles. Scholars have been forced to the unlikely conclusion that Cicero made a mistake in listing the games for which he must at the time of writing have been making preparations. So far as we know, the curule aedile celebrated only two sets of games, the Megalenses and the Romani.² Cicero names three festivals and confirms the number later when he says *trinos ludos aedilis feceram*.³ If he was

¹ Cf. *Verr.*, i, 22-6; 36-7; ii, 1, 14 and 19; *Pro Mur.*, 40; *In Pis.*, 2; *Brut.*, 319; *De Off.*, ii, 59; *Ad Att.*, xii, 17; *Div. in Caec.*, 70 as interpreted by J. Seidel in his excellent dissertation, *Fasti Aedilicci* (Breslau, 1908), p. 55, note 5. See also *Plut.*, *Cic.* 8; *De vir. ill.*, 81, 3.

² For the evidence see Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, ii³, pp. 518 ff. Dio, xxxvii, 8, mentions specifically the Megalenses and the Romani as the games which impoverished Caesar when he was curule aedile.

³ *Pro Mur.*, 40.

curule aedile he should certainly have included the Megalenses. Just as surely he should have omitted the Ceriales, which belonged in the province of the plebeian aedile.⁴ Probably he should also have omitted the Florales. The curatorship of these games is in some doubt, for the aediles Publicii who held them when the temple of Flora was dedicated in 240 B. C. are described by Festus as *aediles curules* and by Varro and Ovid as *aediles plebis*.⁵ But the officer who held the games in 173 when they were entered in the calendar as a regular festival seems to have been a plebeian aedile.⁶ The festival of Flora, as Cicero indicates in this passage, was always associated with the plebs, and its direction almost certainly remained in the hands of a plebeian official.

"The most ancient games, the first to bear the name Roman"⁷ have always been identified with the Ludi Romani held by the curule aedile in September. But Cicero does not actually say that the games which he is to hold are still called the Roman games. He is, I believe, referring not to the Ludi Romani but to another set of games to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, the Ludi Plebeii which the plebeian aedile held in November, and he is claiming that the games held by the plebeian aediles were the oldest games, the ones first called Roman. The Ludi Plebeii, almost identical with the Ludi Romani in their peculiar struc-

⁴ The plebeians were closely associated with the temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera. They kept their archives in the temple (Livy, iii, 55, 13) and frequently made donations to Ceres from fine money (Livy, x, 23, 13; xxvii, 6, 19; xxvii, 36, 9; xxxiii, 25, 3). It was the custom of the plebs to invite each other to dinner on the Cerelia just as it was the habit of the nobles to invite each other on the Megalensia (Gell., xviii, 2, 11). Cf. also Livy, xxx, 39, 8 with Mommsen's comment, *op. cit.* i⁹, p. 607, note. Dio, xlvi, 40, 6, mentions plebeian aediles as curators of the Cerelia in 42 B. C.

⁵ Festus, p. 276 L; Varro, *L. L.*, v, 158; Ovid, *Fasti*, v, 287 ff.

⁶ The coins of C. Servilius C. f., an officer of the mint of the first century B. C., have on them the words *Floral. primus*. Cf. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, i, p. 469. The inscription seems to refer to an ancestor of Servilius who held the games in 173, the year in which the Floralia were made a standing festival. Since in that year the curule aediles were patricians, Servilius, who apparently belonged to the plebeian branch of the family, must have been plebeian aedile. See Mommsen, *Röm. Münzwesen*, p. 645, note 538; Seidel, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 f.

⁷ Greenwood's version, Loeb text.

ture, developed as did the Romani from the ancient votive games which from the days of the Tarquins the Romans were said to have celebrated from time to time in honor of the Capitoline Triad.⁸ These games, which had no fixed date in the calendar, were known as *Ludi Romani* or *Ludi Magni* (sometimes *Maximi*).⁹ From the time of the institution of the office in 494 the plebeian aediles are associated in the tradition with the curatorship of the great Roman games. Dionysius, here as elsewhere confusing the *Ludi Romani* with the Latin festival, says that the plebeian aediles, immediately after their institution, were given duties in the sacrifices and contests of the *Feriae Latinae*, and the right to wear the purple toga, to sit in the curule chair, and to enjoy other insignia of royalty.¹⁰ The tradition that the plebeian aediles were curators of Jupiter's *ludi* at this early period is also reflected in the scholiast on the *Verrines* who dates the origin of the *Ludi Plebeii* at the beginning of the Republic:¹¹ *Plebeii ludi quos exactis regibus pro libertate plebis fecerunt aut pro reconciliatione plebis post secessionem in Aventinum.* Valerius Maximus (I, 7, 4) shows traces of a similar tradition when he describes as *Ludi Plebeii* the great games attributed to 490, a celebration famous for the omen which caused the *ludi* to be repeated, and places the spectacle in the *Circus Flamininus*, which was later the scene of the *circenses* in the *Ludi Plebeii*.

A definite indication of the priority of the plebeian aediles as

⁸ See Mommsen, *Röm. Forsch.*, ii, pp. 42 ff. Against Mommsen's view of the relation between votive and annual games see Piganiol, *Recherches sur les Jeux romains* (Strasbourg, 1923), pp. 75 ff.

⁹ Livy, i, 35, 9: *Sollemnes deinde annui mansere ludi Romani magnique varie appellati.* The special votive games which continued to be celebrated after the two annual festivals of Jupiter were fixed are regularly called *ludi magni* by Livy; in one instance they are described as *ludi Romani votivi* (xxxiv, 44, 6), a phrase which shows that the sort of spectacle that the Romans gave to their chief god was known as "Roman" games.

¹⁰ Dionys., vi, 95: *κοσμηθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς πορφύρα καὶ θρόνῳ ἐλεφαντίνῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπισήμοις οἷς εἵχον οἱ βασιλεῖς.* On Dionysius' confusion of the *Ludi Romani* and the *Feriae Latinae* see Schwegler, *Röm. Gesch.*, ii, p. 232, and Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, i², p. 391, note 7.

¹¹ Pseudo-Ascon., p. 143 Orelli, a note on *Verr.*, i, 31. The scholiast however believes (see p. 142) that the *Ludi Romani*, instituted under the Kings, were entirely different from the *Plebeii*.

curators of the great Roman games is to be found in Livy's account (VI, 42) of the institution of the curule aedileship at the time of the Licinian-Sextian rogations in 367. The senate, as a thanksgiving to the gods for the reestablishment of concord, voted *ut ludi maximi fierent et dies unus ad triduum adiceretur*. The language of the passage suggests that the *ludi* were not yet a regular festival, but had to be voted for each occasion. Livy's account further indicates that the duty of celebrating such games devolved on the plebeian aediles. *Recusantibus id munus aedilibus plebis conclamatum a patriciis est iuvenibus se id honoris deum immortalium causa libenter facturos.* The curule aediles, according to Livy, were instituted as curators of great Roman games which the plebeian aediles had refused to celebrate.

Modern scholars are almost unanimous in rejecting the tradition that the plebeian aediles were from their institution charged with the celebration of games to Jupiter.¹² The *cura ludorum*, they hold, was originally a function of the curule aedile, whose festival, the Ludi Romani, was probably entered in the calendar in 367 or shortly afterwards; the institution of the Ludi Plebeii, usually placed in 220 when the Circus Flaminius was built, eventually, it is thought, provided rival games for the plebeian aediles. The reliability of the ancient evidence for an earlier connection of the plebeian aediles with Jupiter's games need not concern us here. For the discussion of Cicero's aedileship the important point is that the phrase *ludi antiquissimi qui primi Romani appellati sunt* accords with a well-attested ancient tradition about the Ludi Plebeii. Cicero has given us in calendar order a schedule of the games which he expects to hold.¹³ These games all fall within the province of the plebeian aedile, and that was the office to which Cicero was elected in 70 B. C.

But how are we to reconcile with the plebeian aedileship the prerogatives of the office which Cicero proceeds to enumerate? The *antiquior in senatu sententiae dicendae locus* would have

¹² Mommsen, *op. cit.*, ii⁸, pp. 517; 520, note 1, recognized the existence of the tradition. Piganiol, *op. cit.*, pp. 88 ff., makes a strong argument for the greater antiquity of the Ludi Plebeii, suggesting that the curule aediles in 367 took over a calendar festival previously celebrated by the plebeian aediles.

¹³ The dates in the Augustan calendars are: Ludi Ceriales, April 12-19; Florales, April 28-May 3; Plebeii, Nov. 4-17.

belonged to both types of aediles, but the *toga praetexta*, the *sella curulis*, and the *ius imaginum* are the special prerogatives of the curule magistrates. The very name of the curule aedile indicates that the office was distinguished from the plebeian aedileship by the fact that it was a curule magistracy. The right of the curule aedile to the *sella curulis* is attested in literature¹⁴ and in representations on coins where the chair is obviously a play on the name of the office. With the chair went the *praetexta*, the costume of the magistrate who occupied it. Although the plebeian aediles enjoyed these distinctions when they were giving games, the general belief is that at other times they used the *subsellium*, the bench which tradition assigns to the tribunes of the plebs, and were, like the tribunes, excluded from the use of the *praetexta*. The only definite evidence for this belief is a representation on a coin of about 86 B. C., a special issue of the plebeian aediles Fannius and Critonius. The reverse of the coin shows a bench, apparently a *subsellium*, on which are seated two togate figures, presumably the magistrates about to make a distribution to the people.¹⁵ But the coin, if it has been correctly interpreted, provides evidence for the pre-Sullan period. There are indications that the plebeian aediles were not permanently debarred from the *sella curulis* and the *praetexta*. They are not listed by the Ciceronian scholiast among the lower officers who used the *subsellium*¹⁶ nor are they mentioned by Plutarch with the tribunes when he asks why the tribune does not wear the *praetexta* when the other magistrates wear it.¹⁷ When Cicero

¹⁴ Piso *ap. Gell.*, vii, 9, 6; Livy, vii, 1, 5; ix, 46, 9; Plut., *Mar.*, 5.

¹⁵ Grueber, *op. cit.*, i, 314-5. The inscription P. A. on the coins is to be interpreted as P(ublico) A(rgento) or perhaps P(ublica) A(nnona). The ear of grain on the coin seems to indicate that the issue was made, perhaps at the Cerelia, to provide money for a distribution. Cf. Seidel, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

¹⁶ Pseudo-Ascon., p. 118 Orelli. *Sunt enim subsellia tribunorum triumvirorum quaestorum et huiusc modi minora iudicia exercentium qui non in sellis curulibus nec in tribunalibus sed in subselliis considebant.* From Verr., ii, 1, 14 (*Cum agam beneficio populi Romani de loco superiore*) it would appear that Cicero's aedileship gave him the right to sit on the tribunal from which tribunes and lower officers were excluded.

¹⁷ *Q. R.*, 81: Διὰ τὶ περιπόρφυρον δὲ δῆμαρχος οὐ φορεῖ, τῶν ἀλλων ἀρχόντων φορούντων. Elsewhere Plutarch (*Mar.*, 5) speaks of the curule chair as the special prerogative of the curule aedile.

says that all praetors and aediles laid aside the *praetexta* as a sign of mourning for his threatened exile,¹⁸ he would seem to include the plebeian aediles in the group. If Cicero was plebeian aedile, the passage in the Verrines, which has usually been considered the best indication of the prerogatives of the curule aedile, provides instead evidence that the plebeian aedile had by the year 70 B. C. acquired the distinctions of a curule magistracy. The office, though inferior to the curule aedileship, had long been superior in rank to the tribunate.¹⁹ When under the Sullan constitution the tribunes were temporarily excluded from the highest offices of the state, the plebeian aedileship, which suffered no such restriction, was divorced from the other plebeian office, and it must have been much sought by men who wished to gain access to praetorship and consulship. It is likely that at this time the holders of the office acquired the insignia of curule magistrates and the right of handing down their wax masks to their descendants.

Cicero's success in his candidacy is easier to understand if he was seeking the plebeian aedileship, for, although the agents of Verres had already secured the election of consuls and a *praetor repetundis* who were favorable to Verres, Cicero, the prosecutor of Verres, was returned first by all the tribes.²⁰ As his colleague another new man, Caesonius, also opposed to Verres, was elected.²¹ There is no parallel in our records for the election of two new men to the curule aedileship.²² For that office, the

¹⁸ *Or. ad Sen.*, 5, 12: *Ille < Gabinius > . . . cum toga praetexta quam omnes praetores aedilesque tum abiecerant irrisit squalorem vestrum.* Cf. *Vatin.*, 16: *aediliciam praetextam togam.*

¹⁹ Mommsen, *op. cit.*, ii³, pp. 480 ff.; iii, pp. 860 ff. The plebeian aedileship, though it was said to have been instituted as an office subsidiary to the tribunate, usually follows the tribunate in cases where both offices were held. In the time of the Second Punic War the plebeian aediles seem not yet to have secured the right of enrollment in the senate. Before 123-2 B. C. they had attained it. The tribunes did not secure the privilege until the post-Gracchan period.

²⁰ *In Pis.*, 2: *me . . . aedilem priorem . . . cunctis suffragiis populus Romanus faciebat.* Cf. *Verr.*, i, 18 ff.

²¹ *Verr.*, i, 29; cf. *Pseudo-Ascon.*, pp. 140 f. Orelli. Caesonius was regarded by Cicero as a possible competitor for the consulship. Cf. *Ad Att.*, i, 1, 1.

²² There are a number of cases of the election of one new man, for example M. Seius, M. Plaetorius Cestianus, Cn. Plancius, M. Caelius

holders of which usually reached the consulship,²³ Cicero would have had rivals among nobles and particularly among patricians who were excluded from the plebeian offices.²⁴ Actually a patrician, P. Sulpicius Galba, who was one of Cicero's competitors for the consulship, may well have been elected to the curule aedileship in 70.²⁵ It may be noted that Quintus Cicero seems to have followed his brother's example when he sought and secured the plebeian aedileship four years later.²⁶

The curule aedileship, which was recognized as a more important office than the plebeian aedileship,²⁷ is commonly denoted in inscriptions by the full title *aedilis curulis*.²⁸ Cicero, who

Rufus. The attitude of the nobles toward the office comes out clearly in Cicero's *Pro Plancio*.

²³ In the years 200-187, a period when the lists are almost complete, three quarters of the curule aediles reached the consulship. Cf. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, i³, p. 532, note 2. Of eleven curule aediles known between 75 and 61, seven became consuls and one other was certainly a candidate for the consulship. The disturbed condition of public affairs probably explains why a number of the curule aediles of the next decade failed to become consuls.

²⁴ Since the plebeian aediles were elected in the *comitia tributa*, presumably under the presidency of a plebeian officer (there is no direct evidence on the subject), Cicero might be expected to use *plebs* instead of *populus Romanus* of the group which gave him the office (cf. *Verr.*, i, 25; ii, 1, 19; ii, 5, 36). But Cicero is here in accord with his use of *populus Romanus* in *Leg. Agr.*, ii, 16 ff. Cf. Botsford, *Roman Assemblies*, pp. 129 ff.

²⁵ His coins, issued when he was curule aedile (Grueber, *op. cit.*, i, p. 433), were originally dated by Mommsen in the year 69. Cf. *Röm. Münzwesen*, p. 621, note 452. But Mommsen later (*Röm. Forsch.*, i, p. 100) placed the curule aedileship of Cicero and Caesonius in this year. Galba's aedileship is dated by Seidel (*op. cit.*, pp. 54-5) and by Münzer (*P. W.*, s. v. "Sulpicius," no. 55) in 71. Galba was among the jurors rejected by Verres (*Verr.*, ii, 1, 18) and was therefore not in office in 70. His haste in beginning his canvass for the consulship (*Ad Att.*, i, 1, 1) suggests that he was eager to secure advancement as fast as the law allowed.

²⁶ Quintus held the office in 65 when Caesar and Bibulus were the curule aediles. He was therefore plebeian aedile. Cf. Seidel, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

²⁷ Plutarch, *Mar.*, 5: *μείζων*; Diod., xx, 36: *ἐπιφανεστέρα*. Cf. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, ii³, p. 480, note 2.

²⁸ *Aedilis* is used alone for the curule aedileship in the earlier Scipio epitaphs, Dessau, 1, 2, 3 (where in two cases the verse may explain the

from time to time uses *aedilis curulis* of others,²⁹ always speaks of himself simply as *aedilis*. He would hardly have failed to give the full measure of dignity to his own position. If he had held the curule aedileship, he would probably have drawn parallels from his own experience when in 54 he defended the election of a new man, Cn. Plancius, to that office. In the *Pro Plancio* he mentions a number of successes and failures in candidacy for the aedileship, but gives no details about his own case.³⁰

Since Cicero reached the consulship as soon as he was permitted by the *leges annales*,³¹ his cursus indicates that in his day the plebeian as well as the curule aedile was not eligible to the praetorship until three years after he had held the aedileship. Mommsen's view was that an interval of a single year, such as was sufficient between tribunate and aedileship or tribunate and praetorship, was also permitted between plebeian aedileship and praetorship.³² Cicero's career shows that this view must be revised.

Cicero, writing as he was about to take up his duties as aedile, cannot have made a mistake in numbering and naming the games which he was to celebrate. The games which he lists show that he held the plebeian aedileship. His description of the plebeian games as *ludi antiquissimi qui primi Romani appellati sunt* accords with a well-attested tradition that before the curule aedileship was instituted the plebeian aediles were curators of the great Roman games. Cicero's list of prerogatives which were to accompany his aedileship shows that the plebeian aediles had before 70 B. C. acquired the insignia of curule magistrates.

omission of *curulis*). The full form is found in a later Scipio epitaph (Dessau, 6) and in the following inscriptions which show a republican cursus: Dessau, 43, 43 a, 45, 48, 54, 56, 57, 60. For *aedilis curulis* on coins see *C. I. L.* i³, *conspectus nummorum*, nos. 277, 326, 327, 341, 342, 350.

²⁹ Cicero, *Cluent.*, 126; *Or. ad Quir.*, 15; *Har. Resp.*, 27; *Flaco*, 77; *Brut.*, 264; *De Or.*, i, 57.

³⁰ Cf. *Pro Plancio*, 12 where Cicero discusses the case of M. Seius, a new man who was curule aedile in 74 or 73. Cf. also 51 ff. The only reference to Cicero's own case is in 18: *Sed non hic magis quam ego a meis competitoribus et alias et in consulatus petitione vincebar.*

³¹ *Leg. Agr.*, ii, 3-4; *De Off.*, ii, 59.

³² Cf. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, i³, p. 534.

The change in the status of the office probably took place under Sulla. Cicero's *cursus* indicates that the *leges annales* required a two-year interval between plebeian aedileship and praetorship.

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A NOTE ON L. ROBERT, *COLLECTION FROEHNER*.

When I last wrote on the small fragment of an Athenian decree published by Robert as no. 3 in his *Collection Froehner* (*A. J. P.*, LIX, pp. 498-499) I did not suspect that the inscription which he gave as "unedited" would be found already published in the Attic *Corpus*. Schweigert has called my attention to the fact that it appears as *I. G.*, II², 597 and again as *I. G.*, II², 597, *Addenda*, p. 662, where the restoration follows that of Wilhelm, who also published the fragment in *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIX, p. 279.

The decree was passed on the same day as *I. G.*, II², 486, and Schweigert has now added still another document from this same day (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 297). The piece has been again identified by Klaffenbach (*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1937, pp. 1682-1683), who restores the first line correctly as ε[πὶ Φερεκλέους ἄρχοντος]. Inasmuch as the date is 304/3 B. C., the inscription cannot be used to prove anything about the nature of the secretaryship during the time of Demetrios of Phaleron, as I had argued. None the less, I believe the contention sound that during this period the secretary was of minor importance, and that unless evidence to the contrary is adduced decrees with named secretaries should probably not be assigned to the years when he controlled Athens.

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THE BEE OF ARTEMIS.

The early association of the bee with the cult of Artemis is attested by varied evidence. It appears not only upon the strange polymastoid statue of the Ephesian goddess but upon the earliest coins of her city. As the owl was the emblem of Athena at Athens, so the bee seems to have been the emblem of Artemis at Ephesus. Although the extant examples of the polymastoid statue¹ are all of late date, it is hardly possible that the type with its medley of elements can have been a late Hellenistic creation.² So important was the bee in the cult of Artemis that her priestesses received the name of *Melissa*, "Bee." There is no direct evidence that the Ephesian priestesses of the goddess bore that title, but the assumption that she did is justified by the monuments cited. Another such title was *μελισσονόμος*, "bee-keeper."³ At Delphi there was a *μέλισσα Δελφίς*.⁴ The first priestess with this title probably served in the temple of Apollo there which bees had made of wax.⁵ These Apolline "bees" must have had some relation to the "bees" of Artemis, the twin sister of the god.

Particularly significant is the part played by the bee in Cretan tradition, where it appears in the name of Artemis. The Cretans called her *Βριτόμαρτις*,⁶ a title which was anciently defined as *dulcis virgo*.⁷ Since the Cretan word for "sweet" was *βριτύ*, the initial element of the name Britomartis was correctly translated *dulcis*. The closeness of *βριτύ* to the verb *βλίττω*, "to take the honey from the comb," and to the name of the nymphs, *Βρίσαι*, who were said to have taught the Thessalian Aristaeus bee-culture,⁸ led Cook to the very reasonable conclusion that *βριτο-* is a variant of *μέλισσα*.⁹ Thus the name Britomartis

¹ H. Thiersch, *Artemis Ephesia* (1935), assembles all known examples.

² Cook, *Zeus*, II, p. 409.

³ Aeschylus, frag. 84.

⁴ Pindar, *Pyth.*, IV, 60.

⁵ Pausanias, X, 5, 9.

⁶ Hesychius, s. v.

⁷ Solin., XI, 8, who adds *ea aedes ostentat manus Daedali*.

⁸ Diodorus, *Bibl.*, IV, 81; *Etym. Mag.*, 213, 55, s. v. "βρίσαι."

⁹ J. H. S., 1895, p. 15.

meant originally "bee-maiden" in view of the prominence of the bee in the cult of the goddess but acquired a secondary meaning of "honey," "sweet." That the Cretan Artemis had close ties with Delphi is indicated by the tradition that Cretans participated in the colonization of Delphic territory. Perhaps the "bees" that built the second temple of Apollo at Delphi were Cretan. A number of references attest the ancient prestige of the bee in the island. One states that the infant Zeus had been nourished by bees, whence perhaps came his title Melissaios.¹⁰ A second mentions a son of Zeus named Meliteus who, when exposed in the woods, was likewise nourished by bees.¹¹ Melissa, the daughter of the Cretan king Melissos, reared the new-born Zeus, the same Melissa who became the first priestess of the Magna Mater and bequeathed her title to her successors.¹² To the literary references are to be added the monumental. A curious ritual vessel imitating a honey-comb was found at Cnossus, and Evans cites the honey-comb of gold which Daedalus wrought for Aphrodite of Eryx.¹³ Further the bee is a Minoan hieroglyph, which Evans compares with another in a royal Egyptian title where it means "bee-keeper."¹⁴

The religious significance of the bee at Ephesus, where there was a large Lydian colony, raises the question whether the bee played any part in Lydia. The donation of columns by Croesus to the temple of the Ephesian Artemis indicates an early worship of the goddess in keeping with the Lydian devotion to the Delphic Apollo. It further explains the appeal to the Ephesian Artemis in the sepulchral inscriptions of Sardis.¹⁵ Since the goddess regularly bears the title *Ibsimsis*, "Ephesian," in these inscriptions, she very probably took her attribute, the bee, with her to the Lydian capital. This reasonable assumption yields a clue to the meaning of a word which occurs four times with

¹⁰ Hesychius, s. v.

¹¹ Antoninus Liberalis, 13.

¹² Lactantius, *Div. Inst.*, I, 22, 19-20. That the Magna Mater should have as priestess Melissa was the logical expression of the close ties existing between her and Artemis in Asia Minor.

¹³ Diodorus, IV, 78, 5; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, IV, pp. 154-155. There is a question as to the reading of the passage in Diodorus. Evans accepts *κηπλον* instead of *κριόν*.

¹⁴ Evans, *P. M.*, I, pp. 280-81.

¹⁵ Buckler, *Lydian Inscriptions*, nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 26.

the name of Artemis in the inscriptions.¹⁶ The most suggestive of the instances is

sivraūmis artimul karris kavek bakillis.¹⁷

The words *sivraūmis artimul*, which occur three times in the same inscription, are here joined with *kavek bakillis*, which mean "and the priest of Bacchus." Just as *kavek* precedes *bakillis*, so *sivraūmis* precedes *artimul*. Hence *sivraūmis* may also designate a priest. In another passage is

artimuç ibsimçaç kulumçak sivraūmn.¹⁸

Here the word *sivraūmn* is the same as *sivraūmis*, but of the plural or dual number since it accompanies two Artemises, one of Ephesus and the other of Koloë. In view of the importance of the bee in the Ephesian cult of the goddess it seems likely that *sivraū*, the first part of these two variants, is the Greek *σίμβλος*, "beehive," a word of unknown origin but as old as Hesiod. *Sivraūmis* is perhaps composed of *sivraū* and *mis*, since *ū* is the sign of the accusative singular of Lydian nouns. If *mis* is a suffix of verbal value, then the word could mean "keeper of the beehive," thus corresponding to the title *μελισσονόμος*, and would be applicable either to the goddess or her representative, a priestess. The Lydian and the Greek may have derived the *sivraū* and *σίμβλος* from a third language, the Greek inserting a *μ* as in *δυμβριμος* for *δβριμος*. The Lydian word for "bee" could then be *si*.

Turning to the Lydian proper adjective *Ibsimsis*, "Ephesian," and another of the same formation, *Kulumsis*, "of Koloë," we may recognize an adjectival suffix in *-msis*. With the help of Hesychius, who tells us that Lydian *ibu* meant *πολύ*, we arrive at the conclusion that *Ib-si-msis* is the adjective of a name meaning "rich in bees," just as the earlier name of Tralles, *Πολυάνθεια*, meant "rich in flowers." If this interpretation is correct then the bee on the coins of Ephesus becomes another example of the punning type, like that on the coins of Melitaea in Phthiotis¹⁹ and the seal, *φώκη*, on the coins of Phocaea. This analysis of

¹⁶ Buckler, *op. cit.*, nos. XXII, 9, 11, 12; II, 10.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, XXII, 9.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 10.

¹⁹ Head, *Hist. Num.*², p. 301.

Ibsimsis is strengthened by the Greek "Εφεσ-ος, which is composed of ἑπτ-ης, the ἑπτ being the Greek version of *ib*²⁰ and the ης the same as ης in ἑστ-μός, "swarm of bees."²¹ That Greek π represented Lydian *b* is shown by the bilingual of Pergamon.²² The name Ephesus thus meant "many bees" or "place of many bees."

The Cretan name of Artemis—Britomartis, "honey-maiden"—may possibly throw some light upon a famous Cretan story. Glaukos, the son of Minos, fell into a jar of honey and was drowned, but was revived by the seer Polyeidos. A vase painting of the fifth century depicts the seer with the dead boy in a tomb²³ in which Minos had commanded that the two be shut up. The tomb, which is shown in section, is of the beehive type, appropriately surmounted by the tripod of Apollo.²⁴ The jar into which Glaukos fell is not represented nor is its type mentioned in the literary version of the tale. It may have been of beehive shape like that of the "Mycenaean" ossuary which was discovered in a modest tholos tomb in Crete.²⁵ The jar is in fact a miniature tholos. Now Cook believes that the story of Glaukos implies an ancient custom of preserving the dead in honey.²⁶ Since honey and milk were important in mystic doctrine, the falling of Glaukos into honey is to be compared with the declaration of the Orphic dead that they had fallen into milk. This comparison is the more appropriate in view of the Cretan

²⁰ There should be noted in this connection the form *Ipesius*, "Ephesian," which occurs on a military diploma (*C. I. L.*, XVI, no. 7, *tabella II*). Five of the witnesses are from Sardis, the sixth from Maeonia, another name for Lydia. The provenance of these witnesses suggests that the form *Ipesius*, Εφέσιος, owes its initial syllable to the Sardian *Ibsimsis*. I owe the reference to Mr. H. S. Robinson of Princeton University.

²¹ The aspirate is attested by ἀφεσμός, which is incompletely defined as "a swarm of bees" in Jones' revision of Liddell and Scott. It designates "a colony of bees" which has migrated from home. Cf. ἀποκίλα and ολκία.

²² Buckler, *op. cit.*, p. 57, no. 40.

²³ Murray, *White Athenian Vases in the British Museum*, pl. XVI, p. 26.

²⁴ The tripod may allude to the part which the oracle of Apollo played in the story. On tripods in a Minoan tomb see Evans, *P. M.*, II, p. 283.

²⁵ Halbherr, *A. J. A.*, 1901, pl. VI, no. 4 and p. 275.

²⁶ Zeus, I, p. 469.

elements in Orphism.²⁷ The falling of Glaukos into honey may then have had the same mystic significance as the Orphic statement which was inscribed on gold tablets buried with the dead. Μελίκρητον was an offering to all the dead. The depositing of the bones of the dead in a Mycenaean jar of the shape of a beehive probably had the same effect as placing them in honey. One is reminded of the practice of the Ptolemaic Greeks who at Hadra near Alexandria placed the ashes of their dead in *hydriæ*,²⁸ obviously because the souls of the dead craved a drink of water. The devotees of Osiris appealed to him to grant the dead cold water,²⁹ and the Orphic was instructed to say to the guardians of a spring on his *descensus Averno*: "I am parched with thirst and perishing. Give me to drink of the spring."³⁰ If the ashes of the dead were placed in a water-pitcher, they could then constantly assuage their thirst. So one buried in a beehive could constantly satisfy his need of honey by the same sympathetic magic. What was true of the small beehive ossuary was true of the large one, and it may be that the great beehive tombs of the Minoan-Mycenaean age were so shaped, in imitation not of beehive houses but of actual beehives, because of the importance of the bee and its honey in the destiny of the dead. Cook reproduces from a gem a scene of Hermes evoking the dead from a burial jar while a soul in the form of a bee hovers above it.³¹ One may wonder whether Polyeidos observing snakes while in a tholos tomb with the dead Glaukos is the Minoan prototype of Asklepios, who had a tholos at Epidaurus where snakes served a curative function. Asklepios was credited with raising the dead to life. The significant rosette which appeared in the Mycenaean tholos tomb and on the miniature tholos of terracotta previously cited is seen again on the tholos within the sacred enclosure of Asklepios at his famous sanctuary.³² The Mycenaean *megaron* and *propylon* survived into the historical period, the former to become a temple. Is it not possible that the tholos

²⁷ Cf. Eisler, *Orph.-Dion. Mysteriengedanken in der Christlichen Antike*, p. 357.

²⁸ A. J. A., 1909, p. 387.

²⁹ Legge, *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, I, p. 88.

³⁰ Cf. Foucart, *Les Mystères d'Eleusis*, p. 427. Note Porphyry, *De Antro Nymphaeum*, 17: παρὰ τῷ Μίθρᾳ ὁ κρατήρ ἀντὶ πηγῆς τέτακται.

³¹ Zeus, I, p. 469.

³² A. J. A., 1935, p. 518.

of the god who raised the dead to life is the beehive tomb in which Glaukos was revived?

The question now arises why Pausanias called the tholos tomb at Mycenae a *θησαυρός*, "treasury." Since objects of precious metal were deposited in Mycenaean graves and tombs generally, the tholos was no more a treasury than the shaft-grave. If the term *thesauros* had been applied to the tomb only by Pausanias, one might believe that it came into use in the Graeco-Roman period; but such is not the case. The idea was too wide-spread. Naevius, who died in 199 B. C., speaks in an epigram of the *Orci thesauro*, and Ennius in a fragment of his *Iphigenia* has *Acherontem obibo ubi mortis thesauri objacent*.³³ In both these passages the word *thesauros* indicates a Greek provenance for the figure of speech. However the normal word in Judaism for the abode of righteous souls was "treasures." In the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, which was written originally in Hebrew in the first century, is the following prediction: "And it shall come to pass at that time that the treasures of the dead shall be opened in which is preserved the number of the souls of the righteous."³⁴ Charles states that in the apocalyptic circles to which St. John belonged it was the accepted belief that only the souls of the righteous were admitted to these treasures which would be opened at the close of the Messianic kingdom, when the souls would come forth at the final judgment. Yet in *Proverbs*, VII, 27 we read: "Her house (that of the harlot) is the way to hell leading down to the *ταφεῖα* of death." The provenance of the idea that souls are deposited in treasures in the underworld may have been Minoan. Classical Greece knew Pluto as god of the dead and god of riches, and hence the dead could have been regarded as confined in the place of his riches or treasure. The Roman Dis answered to the Greek Pluto. Now Zeus buried his treasure in Gaza when he founded that city, which worshipped in historical times Marnas, or the Cretan Zeus. It is a fact of special importance that the grave was confused with the realm of the dead in all early thought.³⁵ Hence the idea that the souls

³³ Frag. Scen., 245.

³⁴ R. H. Charles, *The Revelation of St. John*, I, p. 179; cf. Charles, *Apocalypse of Baruch*, pp. 42, note and 56. J. Kroll, *Gott und Hölle*, p. 30, n. 2 gives extensive literature on the "treasures."

³⁵ Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, s. v. "State of the Dead," p. 842.

of the dead were in underworld treasures was applicable to the single tomb. It is more likely that the tomb as a treasury was the original conception, which was extended to the general abode of the dead in the underworld.

That the Mycenaeans themselves called the tholos tomb both beehive and treasury is a reasonable inference from the tradition relating to Trophonius and Agamedes. They built a treasury for Hyrieus,³⁶ the founder of the town of Hyria in Boeotia.³⁷ This Hyrieus presents a certain correspondence to Zeus who founded Gaza and there buried his treasure. Now the names "Ὑρίευς" and "Ὑρίη" are derived from *ὑπόν*, the Cretan word for "beehive,"³⁸ or rather from its diminutive which appears in *ὑποτόμος*.³⁹ Another city with a name of the same origin was Hyria, which was founded by Cretans in Iapygia.⁴⁰ Herodotus states that the Cretans after the death of Minos sent an expedition against Camicus, the later Agrigentum, and that the survivors of it were driven ashore by storm, gave up hope of returning to Crete, and founded Hyria in Iapygia. The same Cretan word perhaps enters into the name of Hyrtacina, a city of Crete, which had a bee as coin-type.⁴¹ Hyrieus, for whom a treasury was built at Boeotian Hyria, must have had some ties with Crete and was possibly another Melisseus, the Cretan king whose daughter Melissa nourished the infant Zeus with goat's milk and honey.⁴²

Pausanias does not say that the treasury of Hyrieus was built in the shape of a beehive, but since the great *thesauros* at Orchomenos had such form it may be safely assumed that his too was a *tholos*. Agamedes and Trophonius, who built it for Hyrieus, were the sons of Erginos, the king of Orchomenos. The story about the pilfering of the treasury affords additional evidence

³⁶ Paus., IX, 37, 3.

³⁷ *Iliad*, II, 496 and schol. A close semantic parallel to Hyrieus and his city Hyria is found in Meliteus, the son of Zeus, who founded a city Melite in Phthia. Cf. Antoninus Liberalis, *Metam. Syn.*, XIII.

³⁸ Hesychius, s. v. The reduplicated Latin *susurrare*, "buzz," contains the same word. Cf. *susurrant apes*. See Walde-Pokorny, *Vergl. Wörter d. Indoger. Spr.*, II, p. 527, s. v. "suer."

³⁹ Hesychius, s. v.

⁴⁰ Herodotus, VII, 170; Strabo, VI, 282.

⁴¹ Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 397.

⁴² Cf. A. B. Cook, *J. H. S.*, 1895, pp. 1 ff.

of the Minoan date of Hyrieus. The builders contrived to make one of the stones of the structure removable from the exterior and by this means were able to steal some of the gold and silver.⁴³ When Hyrieus discovered the theft, he set a trap upon the vases which contained the remaining treasure. Agamedes was caught and, being unable to extricate himself, was decapitated by his brother Trophonius, so that with the removal of the head the thief might not be identified. Trophonius disappeared into the earth at Lebadea, where was the pit of Agamedes.⁴⁴ The place where he disappeared Pausanias describes as a circular foundation with the diameter of a small threshing floor and less than three feet high.⁴⁵ The opening into the oracle of Trophonius was within the circle, through a dome-shaped building which Cook believes was the tholos tomb of an old Boeotian king.⁴⁶ Now it was to the place where Trophonius entered the earth that bees conducted the Boeotians. Those who descended into the oracular chasm took with them cakes kneaded with honey.⁴⁷ If Cook is right in his theory, then one readily sees the appropriateness of the bees as guides. They conducted the Boeotians to their "hive." The importance of the bee in this tradition is shown by the earlier name of the Boeotians, Βλίσσοι,⁴⁸ which is a simple variant of Μελίσσοι.

The antiquity of the story of the theft of gold and silver from the treasury of a king is established by the version given by Herodotus.⁴⁹ The king in this case was one Rhampsinitis, the successor of that Proteus who sheltered Helen of Troy. The name which is based upon that of Rameses suggests a L. M. III date. A third version of the tale has also intimations of a Minoan date. Agamedes and Trophonius built a golden treasury for king Augeas at Elis in which, on the advice of Daedalus, traps were set to catch thieves. Agamedes was again the victim. It seems likely that this tale originated in Crete in the Minoan

⁴³ Could the content of these tombs have suggested that Rhesus lay buried in a cave of silvered earth (*Rhesus*, 970-71) and that rocks containing gold held Cronus asleep in a deep cave (*Plutarch*, 941 f.)?

⁴⁴ *Paus.*, IX, 37, 3-5.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, IX, 39, 11.

⁴⁶ Zeus, II, p. 1074. The circular enclosure might also be compared with that of the shaft graves at Mycenae.

⁴⁷ *Paus.*, IX, 39, 11.

⁴⁸ *Hesychius*, s. v.

⁴⁹ II, 121-122. Cf. How and Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus*, I, pp. 224-225.

age, whence it found its way to Egypt and to the mainland of Greece. The royal owners of these stone treasuries are to be compared with Zeus in that he too founded a city, Philistine Gaza, and there buried his treasure.

To the considerations already adduced in favor of the theory that the underground *tholoi* at Mycenae, Orchomenos, and elsewhere in Greece were beehive tombs in the intention of their builders may be added the significance of the Latin *favissa*. Gellius records a question put to Varro as to the nature of the *favissae Capitolinae*.⁵⁰ The passage is as follows:

Varro rescripsit in memoria sibi esse quod Q. Catulus curator restituendi Capitolii dixisset voluisse se aream Capitolinam deprimere ut pluribus gradibus in aedem consenseretur suggestusque pro fastigii magnitudine altior fieret sed facere id non quisse quoniam 'favisae' impeditissent. Id esse cellas quasdam et cisternas quae in area sub terra essent ubi reponi solerent signa vetera quae ex eo templo collapsa essent aliaque quaedam religiosa e donis consecratis. Ac deinde eadem epistula negat quidem se in litteris invenisse cur favisae dictae sint sed Q. Valerium Soranum solitum dicere ait quos thesauros Graeco nomine appellareremus priscos Latinos 'flavisas' dixisse quod in eos non rude aes argentumque sed flata signataque pecunia conderetur. Conjectare igitur se detractam esse ex eo verbo secundam litteram et 'favisas' esse dictas cellas quasdam et specus quibus aeditui Capitolii uterentur ad custodiendas res veteres religiosas.

The explanation of Soranus has this in its favor that anciently temples like the Argive Heraeum did on occasion receive cast bullion; but the derivation of *favisa* from *flata* is a *tour de force* like so many of the ancient etymologies. *Favissa* is rather to be derived from *favus*, "a honey-comb." The position of the *favisa* underground and near a temple and the list of its contents are clearly indicative of religious character. It seems like the descendant of the tholos under the south porch of the palace at Cnossus,⁵¹ especially when one remembers that the Minoan and

⁵⁰ Gellius, II, 10.

⁵¹ Evans, *P. M.*, I, pp. 103-6. For a beehive well at Arkhanes see *ibid.*, II, p. 44. It is L. M. III.

Mycenaean palaces had a sacred character which accounts for the Greek temples that arose upon their ruins. The purpose of the subterranean tholos at Cnossus is uncertain, but it is tempting to conjecture that such may have been used as a *cella* for storage of objects or a *cisterna* for the storage of water. That a *favisa* should have been used for water was the natural consequence of its position and may have given rise to the curious tradition that bees carried water to Deo, a goddess of fertility with whom Zeus was united. Here the bees may allude to Zeus Melissaios, although priestesses of Demeter were called Melissai. If such is the allusion, the bee has taken over the function of Zeus as the sky god who fertilizes the earth, Deo, with rain. That this was a motif of Minoan mythology is rendered plausible by a Mycenaean gem,⁵² which represents two hybrids with narrow-waisted bodies like bees hanging on their backs. They hold pitchers above a plant as if they were about to water it. Another gem shows the same hybrid with a bull.

The close association of the bee and the bull, which later found expression in the strange superstition that bees sprang from the bodies of bulls, may date from the Minoan age. It is suggested again by the worship on the citadel of Boeotian Thebes of Poseidon as a bull⁵³ and by the name of a son of Poseidon—Hyrieus, “the beehive keeper.” The same intimacy is indicated by the successive names of the people of Boeotia. Their earlier name, Blissioi, meant “Bee-men,” while their later name was derived from *Bovs*. Boeotia had another early name, Messapia,⁵⁴ which appears to contain the word *apis*. At Ephesus the bee played an important rôle in the cult of Artemis, and there too the youthful wine-pourers of Poseidon were called *taūpoi*.⁵⁵ Artemis as a bee-goddess now seems perfectly at home among the Tauroi and to have an appropriate title in the *epitheton* Taupola.

The theory prevails that the Mycenaean treasures received their name from their resemblance to beehive banks,⁵⁶ but this

⁵² Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, pl. II, 32.

⁵³ Hesiod, *Scutum*, 104. ⁵⁴ Steph. Byz., s. v. ⁵⁵ Athenaeus, 425c.

⁵⁶ D. M. Robinson, *A. J. A.*, 1924, p. 248. Evans, *P. M.*, I, p. 106, rejects the idea that the beehive tombs were treasures. He points out (*ibid.*, II, pp. 36-44) the resemblance of Minoan to Libyan sepulchral *tholoi*. It is quite possible that they expressed the same idea. The beehive may have copied a house-type.

is unlikely. The reference of Naevius to the treasury of Orcus, the belief that the underworld had treasures of souls, the confusion of that underworld with the single tomb favor rather a belief that the tholos tomb was a treasury of the souls of the dead buried in it. The importance of the bee and honey in the cult of the dead likewise favor the conclusion that the beehive tomb owes its shape to the beehive, the abode of souls in the form of bees.⁵⁷ When a woman named Melissa refused to divulge the mysteries of Demeter and was in consequence torn to pieces by angry women, Demeter caused bees to emerge from her body.⁵⁸ This Melissa was entitled to the *epitheton* of Persephone, *μελιτώδης*.⁵⁹ The Orphic doctrine of the soul as a bee may have been of Cretan provenance like the Orphic doctrine of Zagreus. Sophocles knew of it when he wrote, "The swarm of the dead hums."⁶⁰ The tholos owed its description as a treasury not to the objects of gold which were deposited within it but rather to the golden honey which was stored in the hives. They were treasuries whose bees were souls according to a primitive mysticism.

From Crete the symbolic bee found its way to Sardinia, where in a grave was discovered a bronze statuette of a youth with five bees symmetrically arranged upon the breast. As Cook observes, the bee is here a symbol of immortality.⁶¹ The date of the statuette is not given, but it is tempting to believe that the symbol shares a Minoan origin with Talos⁶² and the Cretan slab of bronze bullion.⁶³ The longevity of the bee as a symbol of the soul and its association with the bull receives striking confirmation from the discovery in the tomb of Childeric, king of the Franks, of three hundred gold bees together with a bull's head of gold.⁶⁴

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⁵⁷ Porphyry, *De Antro Nymphaeum*, 19.

⁵⁸ Cf. Cook, *J. H. S.*, 1895, pp. 14-15. Hesychius, *s. v.* "μελισσαι": *αἱ τῆς Δήμητρος μύστιδες*.

⁵⁹ Porphyry, *op. cit.*, 18. Cf. Cook, *Zeus*, I, p. 443.

⁶⁰ Frag. 693: *βομβεῖ δὲ νεκρῶν σμῆνος*.

⁶¹ Cook, *J. H. S.*, 1895, p. 19. ⁶² Cook, *Zeus*, I, p. 721.

⁶³ Svoronos, *Jour. Int. d'Arch. Num.*, IX (1906), p. 171. Evans, *P. M.*, II, p. 624.

⁶⁴ *J. H. S.*, 1895, p. 19.

A NUMBERED LEGION IN A FRAGMENT OF THE ELDER CATO.

Klotz and Gelzer have clearly established the fact that the legion numbers in Polybius and Livy, while perhaps not always authentic in themselves—for errors do creep into manuscripts—, are at any rate evidence of an actual practice of the third and second centuries B. C. in Rome.¹ On general grounds, the manner of assigning the elected *tribuni militum* to their posts² and the way in which the consuls drew lots for their legions³ obviously point to the existence of a system of identifying legions by number. More specifically, the two scholars named have shown that in all probability many of the individual instances of such numbering in Polybius and Livy rest on the ultimate authority of Q. Fabius Pictor, a contemporary reporter of the events narrated in the later historians.⁴

Independently of such considerations, however, the genuineness of the practice of numbering legions is warranted by evidence in a sentence quoted by Festus from the elder Cato. The whole passage from Festus reads as follows:

Prodidisse non solum in illis dicitur, qui patriam prodiderunt, sed etiam tempus longius fecisse. ut Cato: "Te, C. Caecili, diem prodi<di>sse militibus legionis III, cum prodiditionem non haberent."⁵

¹ A. Klotz, "Die Bezeichnung der röm. Legionen," *Rh. Mus.*, LXXXI (1932), pp. 143-154; M. Gelzer, "Die Glaubwürdigkeit der bei Livius überlieferten Senatsbeschlüsse über römische Truppenaufgebote," *Hermes*, LXX (1935), p. 275. The Livian legion numbers were earlier accepted as genuine: cf. Fr. Gessler, *De legionum Romanarum apud Livium numeris*, Diss. Berlin, 1866, and Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, I³, p. 51, n. 1, II³, p. 578, n. 2; but U. Kahrstedt later denied their authenticity—"da es zu Polybios' Zeit keine Legionsziffern gibt," of the year 218 B. C., in vol. III of O. Meltzer's *Geschichte der Karthager*, 1913, p. 180; cf. also Kahrstedt's *Die Annalistik von Livius B. XXXI-XLV*, 1913, p. 80.

² Polyb., 6, 19, 8-9.

³ Livy, 22, 27, 10; 42, 32, 5. Cf. also Gessler, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁴ Polyb., 1, 26, 6; 1, 30, 11; 3, 40, 14. Livy, 24, 36, 4 (through Polybius).

⁵ Festus, 282 Lindsay; H. Jordan, *M. Catonis praeter librum de re rustica quae extant*, 1860, p. 73. Ursinus corrected the reading *prodisse*

Obviously, if it were not common practice to number legions, Cato would not have mentioned a "third legion"; and it is further evident that Verrius Flaccus, or Festus, or any other grammarian, would have had no reason to tamper with the text of the sentence in so far as the legion and its number are concerned, for they have no bearing on the point for which the sentence was cited. We must accept the phrase *militibus legionis III* as genuinely Catonian and as honest testimony.

The fragment is thus the earliest direct evidence for legion numbering at Rome, and is consequently important to the student of the Roman army and of annalistic historical writing. Important, too, is the date to be assigned the fragment. It must fall in or before 149 B. C., the year of Cato's death.⁶ A more precise dating is made difficult by the vagueness of Cato's words, as well as by the fact that no C. Caecilius is known contemporary with Cato.⁷ It may be suggested, however, that the fragment is from Cato's speech *De re Histriae militari*;⁸ that the proper name should be read as C. Caelius; and that the third legion was that engaged in 178 in the Istrian expedition of the consul A. Manlius Vulso.

The name *Caelius* very frequently appears in MSS in the form *Caecilius*, not a very surprising fact, for the latter name was much more common than the former.⁹ The C. Caecilius of the

of the Farnesianus. For the phrase *prodere diem* cf. also Terence, *Andr.*, 313 and *Lucilius*, 214 M. The word *proditionem*, found nowhere else in this sense ("prolongation of a period of time, postponement"), must take its meaning from *prodere* as used here: cf. T. Bögel, "De nomine verbali latino quaestiones grammaticae," *Jahrbücher für Class. Phil.*, Supp. 28 (1903), p. 150.

⁶ Note that Cicero attests a "fourth legion" for this year: *De rep.*, 6, 9 (= *Somnium Scipionis* 1, 1).

⁷ Münzer, P.-W., s. v. "Caecilius," No. 11, 1188.

⁸ Attested by Festus, 280 L, citing the word *punctatoriolas* meaning: *levis pugnas*; cf. Jordan, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

⁹ On the relative frequency of the names cf. indices of the *C. I. L.* At least 11 different Caecilius occur in Livy, but no Caelius, except for *Mons Caelius*. In Nonius Marcellus, who like Festus cites isolated names and fragments, Caecilius occurs in 8 of 16 appearances of Caelius, while for book 1 (the only book for which complete readings are available: cf. L. Müller, *Nonius Marcellus*, II, 1888, p. 354) Caelius is read only once in 7 occurrences of Caecilius. The tendency seems clearly to be from the shorter name to the longer. M. Caelius, of Cato's oration *Si se M.*

fragment can hardly refer to the M. Caelius of Cato's speech *Si se M. Caelius tr. pl. appellasset*¹⁰ because of the difficulty in the *praenomen*¹¹ and because the position of authority over a legion evidenced in the fragment would not fall within the province of a *tribunus plebis*. On the other hand, a Caelius does occur in connection with the speech *De re Histriae militari*, a speech generally referred to the years 178-177,¹² and considered as an attack on the consul Manlius and his officers for their badly mismanaged campaign of 178.¹³ Livy records Manlius' legions as the "second" and the "third,"¹⁴ and names a *tribunus militum* of the third legion as C. Aelius,¹⁵ a name which has been repeatedly identified with the Caelius, likewise a tribune in the Istrian campaign, mentioned by Ennius.¹⁶

Caelius tr. pl. appellasset, occurs as M. Caecilius in Paulus Festi, 52 L, and Priscian, VI, 228 Hertz, and as Caecilius in Macrobius, *Sat.*, 3, 14, 9. In Pliny, *N. H.*, 7, 165 and 27, 4, M. Caelius Rufus appears in MSS as a Caecilius (cf. Ruhnken on Vell. Pat., 2, 68, and Münzer, *Hermes*, XLIV [1909], p. 141); and in Livy, *Per.*, 73, C. Caelius appears as C. Caecilius (Münzer, *P.-W.*, *s. v.* "Caecilius," No. 12, 1188, and *s. v.* "Caelius," No. 6, 1255).

¹⁰ Jordan, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-59.

¹¹ Cf. H. Meyer, *Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta*, 1842, p. 130. Note that this Caelius occurs twice as a Caecilius but with *praenomen* unchanged: cf. note 9 above.

¹² Mommsen, *Röm. Geschichte*, I^r, 1881, p. 812; Jordan, *op. cit.*, p. lxxxiv; L. Lange, *Röm. Alterthümer*, II, 1862, p. 245; Weissenborn, on Livy, 41, 6, 2.

¹³ Livy, 41, 1, 1-5, 12.

¹⁴ 41, 1, 6-7; 2, 3; 2, 9; 3, 5-7; 3, 9; 4, 3.

¹⁵ Named together with T. Aelius, i. e., as *T. et C. Aelius*, 41, 1, 7; 4, 3.

¹⁶ Macrobius, *Sat.*, 6, 3, 3: *hunc locum* (i. e., *Iliad*, 16, 102-111) *Ennius in quinto decimo ad pugnam Caelii* (MSS *celii*, *celi*) *tribuni his versibus transfert: Undique conveniunt velut imber tela tribuno*, etc. (Vahlen, 401-8). This name has been variously emended to agree with the Livian C. Aelius (Bergk, *Kl. Schriften*, I, 1861, pp. 252 ff., following the humanist Merula, ed. of Ennius, 1585; Münzer, *P.-W.*, *s. v.* "Caelius," No. 1, 1254; E. H. Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin*, L. C. L., I, 1935, p. 154, n. 1) or even to agree with Caecilius (W. Aly, *Livius und Ennius*, 1936, p. 28, n. 5; p. 40, n. 2, relying on the *T. Caecilius Teucer fraterque eius* whose bravery moved Ennius to write the sixteenth book of the *Annales* [Pliny, *N. H.*, 7, 101]; but cf. Fr. Marx, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, VII [1886], p. 152 and Fr. Skutsch, *P.-W.*, *s. v.* "Ennius," 2609). But the accuracy of the Macrobius Caelius is assured

The paleographical identification of Cato's C. Caecilius, Livy's C. Aelius and Ennius' Caelius is not at all difficult.¹⁷

The chief uncertainty involved in the identification of these individuals as one lies in the diversity of acts attributed to them. Ennius' Caelius is noteworthy as being the target of the Istrian onset;¹⁸ Livy's C. Aelius is remembered as ingenious in devising a method of hurrying his troops to aid Manlius in recovering the Roman camp from the Istrians;¹⁹ and Caecilius received Cato's hostility because he caused some delay to the soldiers of the third legion, a delay forbidden or not expressly ordered, *prodidisse diem . . . cum proditionem non haberent*.

In Livy's narrative the person who fulfils the rôle of Ennius' Caelius is the tribune M. Licinius Strabo.²⁰ It has been suggested that the annalist C. Licinius Macer altered the name from its Ennian form to give his own family tree the glory really belonging to a Caelius.²¹ A more likely explanation is that the two tribunes were celebrated in Ennius' account of the Istrian war, Caelius as the ingenious tribune, Licinius as the heroic defender of the camp, as in Livy's complete version, and that Macrobius in identifying the verses he quoted from Ennius experienced a slip of memory and named one of the two famous

by the fact that the name, occurring five times in the Macrobius MSS (not counting 6, 3, 3), appears once as Caecilius (3, 14, 9; cf. note 9 above) and four times as Caelius (1, 4, 26; 1, 8, 6; 1, 12, 31; 3, 14, 15). Cf. also L. Havet, "L'histoire rom. dans le dernier tiers des Annales d'Ennius," *Bibl. de l'école des hautes études*, XXXV (1878), p. 36; L. Müller, *Quintus Ennius. Eine Einleitung . . .*, 1884, pp. 177-180; E. M. Steuart, *The Annals of Quintus Ennius*, 1925, pp. 203 f.

¹⁷ Our text of Livy, book 41 through 9, 11 (*et edic-*) rests not on the Vindobonensis Lat. 15 but on the *ed. pr.* of S. Grynæus (1531). But a comparison of the errors in the surviving pages of the MS with Grynæus' text shows that it is wholly possible that in 41, 1, 7 or 4, 3 (or in both places) stood the error *t. et caelius* (for *t. et c. caelius*) and that Grynæus corrected to *t. et c. aelius*, as he did correct, e. g., *sc. claudium* to *senatus* *C. Claudium* (41, 14, 3), *inpelli* to *in* *P. Aelii* (21, 9), *senatus* to *se senatus* (42, 6, 9), *cassio* to *C. Cassio* (32, 4), *m. etatilius* to *Marcius et Atilius* (38, 1). The infrequency of the name Caelius in Livy would have made him hesitate to write *C. Caelius*. Cf. Havet, *op. cit.*, p. 36, n. 3.

¹⁸ Cf. note 16 above.

¹⁹ 41, 3, 6-8.

²⁰ 41, 2, 9-10.

²¹ Steuart, *l. c.* (cf. note 16 above), followed by Warmington, *l. c.* Cf. Livy, 7, 9, 5 on Licinius as a glorifier of his own family.

tribunes but not the one meant by Ennius. The difficulties of checking references in ancient books are well known.²²

And if Caelius (in Ennius and Livy) was famed for his ingenuity, it does not necessarily follow that he was utterly blameless. Manlius was the object of an attack by the *tribuni plebis* for his inefficient conduct of the war in Istria,²³ and of course his officers were likewise responsible for their actions: in fact, Manlius would have been censured just because he had not held his officers and men under a stronger and more rigorous discipline. Livy's narrative of the expedition, strongly pro-Manlian in tone,²⁴ attaches no blame to any one person; rather

²² F. G. Kenyon, *Books and readers in ancient Greece and Rome*, 1932, pp. 65 f. But if Macrobius quoted the verses from a text of Ennius and not from memory, he probably found there only one name—Caelius. To judge from the few surviving lines of the *Annales*, Ennius gave the full name of a new person in his narrative (cf. 303-306 V), but on the reappearance of the character he used only one name, *praenomen*, *nomen*, or *cognomen* (223, 251, 295, 329, 334, 335 V). In the Macrobius text, then, the *c* would be an integral part of the name and not a *praenomen* (e.g., *C. Aelius*); if Macrobius found the name Aelius in Ennius, it is difficult to see how the *c* would have crept into the text.

²³ Livy, 41, 6, 1-3; 7, 4-10. The tribunes also objected to his making war without first consulting the senate and the people; but there was nothing illegal in his entering Istria without previous consultation: cf. the *iustum piumque bellum* of 196 (Livy, 33, 29, 1-8), waged without such previous consultation of the senate or of the people. But doubtless precedent was offended: cf. the instances when the senate was consulted in 183 (Livy, 39, 55, 4) or asked for consultation in 171 (*id. 43, 1, 11*). Cf. further G. De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani*, IV, 1, 1923, p. 430, and A. Heuss, *Die völkerrechtlichen Grundlagen der röm. Aussenpolitik in republik. Zeit*, *Klio*, Beiheft 31, (N. F. 18), 1933, pp. 23 f. No trial is recorded for Manlius, and he served as proconsul in 177 (against the tribunes' wishes: Livy, 41, 6, 2-3; 10, 5); but note that the Istrian war was in 177 a consular, not a proconsular, *provincia* (9, 1, 8): apparently a reprimand was thus visited on Manlius.

²⁴ This bias has led Münzer (*P.-W.*, s. v. "Manlius," No. 90, 1214 f.) to suggest that there existed three traditional accounts of the Istrian affair of 178: (a) the one favorable to Manlius, of the expedition itself (Livy, 41, 1, 1-4, 8; 5, 12), (b) the one hostile to Manlius, of the aftermath in Italy and in Rome (5, 2-3; 6, 3; 7, 5-10), and (c) one combining both features, in Ennius. As for (c), unless Livy reproduces Ennius, there is no certainty, for the Ennian fragments are too few to permit a reconstruction of his account. But Livy may well represent Ennius: cf. G. Zippel, *Die römische Herrschaft in Illyrien bis auf Augustus*, 1877, pp. 103 f., and T. Frank, *Cambridge Ancient History*, VIII (1930), p. 328.

the disastrous loss of the camp is laid to the working of mob psychology. The account, while of good annalistic tradition,²⁵ can be discredited in some details because of its over-emphasis on the laudable events (the careful posting of defences for the camp, the heroism of Licinius, the cleverness of Caelius), and because of the point just noted, the failure to mention specific instances of Manlius' mismanagement and the reference of the disaster to mob psychology. It is not impossible, further, to suspect not mere glossing over of detail but even actual suppression of important events.²⁶ If Caelius had been directed to return to camp with wood and fodder, if he delayed longer than ordered, if his absence with his troops weakened the camp and invited the early morning Istrian attack and eased their capture of the camp, one can readily understand Cato's mentioning that detail.²⁷ For Ennius (and for Livy, whose narrative may well derive from Ennius) a pro-Manlian bias would serve to suppress this detail, and that suppression could be made much easier and more effective by emphasizing the clever way in which Caelius hurried back to join Manlius.²⁸

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²⁵ Zippel, *l. c.*; De Sanctis, *l. c.*, n. 87; E. Pais, *Storia di Roma durante le grandi conquiste Mediterranee*, 1931, p. 196, n. 20.

²⁶ Cf. note 23 above, end.

²⁷ Livy makes the third legion a foraging party (41, 1, 7); modern writers usually look on it, partly as that, but primarily as a guard for the line of retreat to Aquileia: cf. B. Benussi, "L'Istria sino ad Augusto," *Archeografo Triestino*, n. s., IX (1882), p. 332; G. Veith, *Die Eroberung Istriens durch die Römer*, Wien, 1908 (= *Streifblätter für Militärische Zeitschrift*, XLIX [1908], II, Heft 10, pp. 1513-1544); G. Veith in J. Kromayer and G. Veith, *Schlachten-Atlas zur antiken Kriegsgeschichte*, 1922, Röm. Abt., coll. 49-50; De Sanctis, *op.cit.*, p. 431. But when the Gavillii Novelli of Aquileia discovered the capture of the camp (41, 5, 1) and hastened home, they did not meet with the third legion: that was summoned by a special messenger from the consul (3, 5). The assumption that the commander of the third legion delayed his return to Manlius' camp would thus explain the anomaly in the separate camps for the legions.

²⁸ Any difficulty that may be felt in the mention by Cato of one tribune and by Livy of two tribunes in command of the third legion is unreal, for tribunes, like consuls, alternated in command of their legion: Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, I², p. 47; Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, II², p. 363; Lengle, *P.-W.*, s. v. "Tribunus," 2443.

THE ROMAN STAMP OF SENECA'S TRAGEDIES.

I.

The preponderantly unfavorable attitude of critics¹ to the tragedies of Seneca may be explained, at least in part, by the almost inevitable but nevertheless erroneous practice of judging these tragedies by a gauge that is alien to them. The imitation of an action, according to Aristotle,² is expressed by means of "language embellished with rhythm, harmony and song." To recognize an action so presented, let alone to appraise its merit, requires familiarity with the conventions involved. We cannot realize how large a part convention plays in drama until we come upon the drama of other peoples, also highly civilized, such as the Indians or the Chinese, whose drama employs conventions different from ours.

Of our current dramatic forms the one that depends most on a system of conventions is the Opera. The stories, the language, the harmonies make no attempt to achieve realistic verisimilitude, and even the spectacle is calculated to impress by its grandeur rather than to lend an illusion. If we notice that the affinity of Senecan tragedy is with modern opera (even rhetoric is a closer approach to conversation than is singing), we shall have a sounder basis for criticizing it and will be readier to recognize its genuine spiritual contributions.

We have had adequate treatment of the Roman Elements in the Tragedies of Seneca,³ if Roman elements mean on the one hand commonplaces on kingship, on the blessings of a humble life, familiar descriptions, all found in other Roman writers,

¹ Varying critical opinions are reported, with documentation, in H. V. Canter, *Rhetorical Elements in the Tragedies of Seneca*, University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 10, 1 (1925), pp. 15-20. Much depreciatory modern criticism is due, I am convinced, to the brilliantly derogatory treatment of D. Nisard, *Études . . . sur les poètes latins de la décadence* (Paris, 1834), I, pp. 57-198.

² *Poetics*, 1449 b 3.

³ This is the title of a paper by R. B. Steele, *A.J.P.*, XLIII (1922), pp. 1-32. The opening sentence reads: "The object of this paper is to present some indications of Roman thought, native or naturalized, in Seneca's portrayal of Greek character."

and, on the other, allusions to objects and institutions specifically Roman, such as military triumphs, religious usages, marriage customs. In regard to the second group, such bold anachronisms as *Fescenninus* (*Medea*, 113) and *quiritibus* (*Thyestes*, 396) show that Seneca was not concerned with maintaining even an exterior consistently Greek;⁴ and in regard to the first, conflicting remarks on kingship⁵ show that Seneca was not concerned with promulgating a consistent doctrine on the subject. Professor Steele's description of the tragedies as "political essays in which Seneca assigns to Greek characters his own views in regard to Roman conditions" cannot therefore be adequate. The discovery of parallel expressions in Seneca's predecessors and followers and of contemporary allusions in his own plays demonstrates the Roman character of the plays on the level of lower criticism, so to speak. The higher criticism, in this sense, would concern itself with the broader ideals and attitudes of Senecan tragedy, and primarily with its aim and scope. We may then discover that if Seneca is bad Euripides he may be very good Roman tragedy, and even that Roman tragedy, given the acquired taste that all conventional art requires, may be very good tragedy.

II.

We may assume with Hermann that the tragedies were intended for actual performance.⁶ Even if they were not performed, it is clear that each was written with the conditions of performance in mind throughout, and not, so to speak, as an oratorio.⁷ This makes it imperative to remember that the con-

⁴ Among many other examples mention may be made of allusions to the usages of Roman triumphs, *Troades*, 150 and *Phoenissae*, 578; *aquila*, *verilla*, *Phoen.*, 390, 400; usages of a Roman marriage, in the epithalamium in *Medea*, 56 ff.

⁵ The principal passage is *Thyestes*, 204-490; cf. also *Phoen.*, 592 ff.

⁶ L. Herrmann, *Le Théâtre de Sénèque* (Paris, 1924), pp. 153-196. The conclusion is (p. 195): "... toutes les tragédies de Sénèque, sans exception, étaient destinées par lui à la présentation sur un théâtre public ou privé de ces œuvres, avec acteurs, choeurs et musique."

⁷ Cf. F. Leo, "De Senecae tragoediis observationes criticae" (*Senecae tragoediae*, Vol. I, Berlin, 1878), p. 82: *Iam si quis contendat ut scaenae traderentur has tragoedias scriptas non esse, ita tamen eas compositas esse concedet ut possint in scaena agi.*

ditions of dramatic presentations in Rome differed *toto caelo* from those that had obtained in Greece. In Greece the drama was (1) a religious performance, (2) played before an audience which was intelligently interested and actually participated in the enterprise, (3) in a theater of the utmost physical simplicity, where natural scenery was allowed to compete with or relieve the spectator from the business in hand. To contrast *seriatim*: (1) Roman drama was for entertainment only, (2) played before an audience temperamentally like a movie audience today, an audience, moreover, that appreciated or pretended appreciation for virtuosity in rhetoric and in the display of assorted learning, and on the other hand was accustomed to horror in its entertainment by the constant presence of gladiatorial combats, (3) in a theater which was itself grandiose and luxurious and had a tradition of lavish and spectacular display. (It has been remarked that the 600 mules used in the presentation of Accius' *Clytemnestra* constituted a very strong company for the Romans.)

From these premises there follow certain consequences. Firstly, there is a pronounced tendency toward melodrama. Characters are white or black, right against wrong, and not one mixture of right and wrong against another mixture of right and wrong, as in Greek tragedy. This is what we should expect in a drama concerned with amusement rather than with edification, played before an audience concerned with intensity rather than with balance. So, to take plays of which the Greek models are generally familiar, Jason's genuine kindness makes Medea's unrelieved ruthlessness the more shocking. Phaedra makes no effort to stem her passion but is very ready to proclaim it from the first and to yield to it, while Hippolytus is not the objectionable prig he is in Euripides but a rather appealing outdoors young man. He does not commit the sin of scorning Aphrodite; the play is altogether white and black. And so is Atreus an unmitigated villain in the *Thyestes*, and so Clytemnestra in the *Agamemnon*; and so in greater or less degree, all the plays.

There is melodramatic effect also in such magnificently theatrical scenes as the hiding of Astyanax in Hector's tomb, and the intense, psychologically brilliant battle of wits and emotions between Andromache and Odysseus (*Troades*, 524-813). This is one of the very greatest scenes in all ancient drama and

is suggested by nothing in Euripides' *Hecuba* or *Trojan Women*, which are the manifest sources for Seneca's play. Another highly effective scene, also original with Seneca as far as we can tell, is Hippolytus' angry abandonment of his sword because it had been defiled by Phaedra's touch, and the later use of the sword to effect Theseus' false recognition (*Phaedra*, 714, 896). Another powerful scene is that of Jocasta pleading half successfully with one and the other of her sons as they confront each other in actual battle (443-664). A scene of the highest excellence for psychological interest as well as spectacle is Thyestes driving himself to enjoy his luxurious banquet and being stifled by the heavy atmosphere electric with presage of evil (*Thyestes*, 920-969).

These things happen before the actual eyes of the audience. Other such are brought before their minds' eyes by messengers' speeches filled with pity more heartrending and fear more horrifying than any in the Greek masters. Mention may be made of the immolation of Polyxena and Astyanax (*Troades*, 1056 ff.), of the manner of Hippolytus' death (*Phaedra*, 991 ff.), of Creon's description of his necromancy (*Oedipus*, 530 ff.), of the storm that wrecked the Greek fleet (*Agamemnon*, 421 ff.), of how Atreus slaughtered and boiled and roasted Thyestes' sons (*Thyestes*, 623 ff.).

These speeches illustrate another requirement of the Roman stage: the actors must be given lines that can be declaimed rather than read. There is still a (fortunately diminishing) school of Shakespearean acting which holds to the tradition of tearing a passion to tatters, and there are audiences which have a taste for sound and fury, whether or not they signify nothing. In Seneca the tirades signify something. They are not, as is often said, mere bombast. They are the excess of intensity, a demonstration of passion which provided a genuine spiritual experience in a certain view of life, as I shall try to show below. Today our conventions do not admit such emotional displays, even on the stage. We do not weep, we do not kiss, we do not commiserate others or ourselves with such abandon. But where restraint in such matters is not the code, how else can the presence of passion be conveyed? Even the Prometheus of Aeschylus must cry out: how else can the audience know his anguish? Literary periods and genres, furthermore, have each

its own idiom. The normal idiom of Silver Latin poetry is exaggeration, and it can be very effective if it is not met with resistance. The exaggeration in Seneca, as in Lucan, amuses us only if we fortify ourselves with the critic's detached determination not to be impressed.

Let us look at a single passage of the sort which is usually written down as bombast. In Clytemnestra's first scene with her nurse in the *Agamemnon* she says (131-144) :

Maiora cruciant quam ut moras possim pati;
flammae medullas et cor exurunt meum,
mixtus dolori subdidit stimulos timor,
invidia pulsat pectus; hinc animum iugo
premit cupidus turpis et vinci vetat:
et inter istas mentis obsessae faces,
fessus quidem et devinctus et pessum datus,
pudor rebellat. fluctibus variis agor,
ut cum hinc profundum ventus, hinc aestus rapit,
incerta dubitat unda cui cedat malo.
proinde omisi regimen e manibus meis:
quocumque me ira, quo dolor, quo spes feret,
hoc ire pergam; fluctibus dedimus ratem:
ubi animus errat, optimum est casum sequi.

Certainly this is a wrenching and straining and tormenting of the emotions, but if these plays are intended, as I shall say below, to show significant individuals controlling themselves and their environments by their emotional drives, nothing can be more relevant to the purpose of the play than to make plain the magnitude and the character of the struggle in the heart of Clytemnestra. An impression of bombast or verbosity may be given by the generosity in words and figures, but each is useful, each adds to the intensity and the strain, and intensity and strain are precisely what the poet needs to convey. How could it be done more economically?

Spectacular speeches are only one of Seneca's spectacular effects. The mechanical resources of the Roman stage must certainly have affected its drama. From the Indians and the Chinese as well as from certain modern productions of Shakespeare we have learned that it may be better to trust the imagination of the spectator than to be too explicit in décor. But, if the affinities of the Roman stage are with opera and the movies, we can see that it must make a point of lavish and

explicit display, in the tradition of the 600 mules. So, in the *Agamemnon* Strophius actually appears with a racing chariot to save the infant Orestes and actually races off at a speed which amazes Electra (944-945). There are other such episodic but spectacularly effective bits, and there are many opportunities for incidental display. Phaedra partly disrobed (386 ff.) must have provided spectacular interest on several levels (though it must be said that the plays are quite free of sexual vulgarity). Scenes such as these, incidentally, seem to me convincing arguments that these plays must have been presented. Mechanical contrivances will, I am convinced though I cannot sketch a plan, explain the apparent difficulty of the scene in *Hercules Furens* (991-1038) where Amphitryon gives a running commentary on action part of which must be visible to the audience. They will permit the audience to see and hear Thyestes ill at ease in his new found luxury, with Atreus gloating fiendishly in the background (*Thyestes*, 920-969).

A word must be said of the murders, which Seneca, contrary to Greek practice, presents *coram populo*. But the Greeks were not chary of dead bodies, even mangled ones: witness Pentheus in the *Bacchae* or the four corpses in the *Phoenissae*; nor of painful deaths: witness Hippolytus. They objected to murder on the stage perhaps for religious reasons, as the Croisets⁸ suggest, or simply because of the physical awkwardness of stage murders. If murder seems rather frequent in Seneca it is because his tragedy is primarily concerned with the strong passions of intense individuals, for the display of which nothing is so fertile for agent or victim, in prospect or actuality, as violent death.

Intensification of passion is likewise the object of Seneca's numerous ghosts, as comparison with Greek ghosts will show. In the *Hecuba* the ghost of Polydorus simply discharges the function of a Euripidean prologue by putting the audience in possession of certain necessary data. But in the *Thyestes* the ghost Tantalus is driven in to supplement his own torments and to abet the Furies in their fiendish work (1-121). In the *Agamemnon* Thyestes' ghost is itself essentially the spirit of vengeance. These apparitions, incidentally, by their costuming,

⁸ *Histoire de la Littérature Grecque* (Paris, 1929), III, p. 131.

entrances, and delivery must have given scope for Roman skill and taste for the spectacular.⁹

These instances illustrate the display of theatrical dexterity of a type still familiar. There are in Seneca also displays of knowledge which, like Strophius' chariot, are dramatically episodic, but which are a necessary element in contemporary literary style. A literate public expected to be flattered and to be impressed by learned talk on mythology, astronomy, geography, medicine.¹⁰ These subjects are equally prominent in Lucan, but nowhere as obtrusive as in the *fons et origo* of the fashion, the *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes. Of certain set descriptions also it may be said that they are deliberate show-pieces,¹¹ even when they fit into the play as admirably as does the description of the plague in the *Oedipus* (37-70) or of the idyllic state of primitive society and its degeneration in the *Phaedra* (483-565). For many other declamations dramatic justification is not so obvious. Nor is it always obvious in the case of the numerous *sententiae*¹² which stud these plays. Always they are smart, often they are brilliant in their concise summation of an attitude; in stichomythia they sometimes degenerate to a clever game (e. g., *Medea*, 159-176). For an appraisal of Seneca only the merits, not the presence, of *sententiae* can come into question, for they are a *sine qua non* of Silver Latin style, and therefore a natural part of Seneca's idiom.

III.

What we have done so far is merely to explain some of the faults in the tragedies of Seneca as being due to Roman standards and practices, and perhaps to show that some things regarded as faults have positive merits. But that is not enough. The heart of a drama is character; plot, dialogue, setting are all really means for expressing character. The subsidiaries are functions

⁹ Cf. the arrangements for Caesar's funeral and their effectiveness: Suetonius, *Julius*, 84.

¹⁰ References would cover every page of the text; I select for mention: mythology, the fates of the Argonauts, *Medea*, 607-669; astronomy, *Thyestes*, 789-874; geography, *Troades*, 815-57; medicine, 1218-34.

¹¹ These are treated fully in Canter, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-84.

¹² Classified and discussed in Canter, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-99.

of the dramatist's skill and ingenuity, his characters are what give him distinction. The sameness in Seneca's characters which critics complain of, their common trait of being permanently at the top pitch of emotional excitement volubly expressed, is, as a matter of fact, just the sort of sameness which meets a foreigner in a strange country. In Seneca's country it may be the custom to wear one's heart outside instead of inside one's clothes and to shriek for attention to it by all contrivances of color and sound and gesture; but that does not mean that the hearts are identical. The contrary would seem to be indicated: the heart is so important a human document that any peculiarity must be remarked. My principal point is that the habit of emotional intensity in itself provides a legitimate dramatic interest. Drama must deal with persons of significant stature; the little man's troubles cannot be dignified into crises to engage general interest. In the early Roman Empire (as in certain other periods of history which, curiously, followed the Senecan pattern in drama) great figures¹³ did dramatize themselves and were expected to do so. Their own emotions, their hates and loves, their lusts and ambitions, and, most important, their deaths and the events that might lead to their deaths, are matters of supreme interest. The external world and external institutions, however grand or sacred, are important both for the hero and his observers only as they affect his ego.

Always, of course, *people* are the most interesting things in the human world, and therefore in drama. But in other drama we observe people as they react to institutions: in Seneca institutions are of the same importance for the character as the cut of his clothes or of his hair. Like the Senecan nurses they are foils against which the outlines of the hates or ambitions of the principals may be sharpened for the observer. The cosmic order itself is expected to subserve grand human actions: in the presence of a grand sinner the sun is expected to darken, in

¹³ In *Oedipus*, 778 the poet is impelled to explain the fewness of Laius' attendants by having the greater number lost on the road. This reminds one of Sainte-Beuve's comparison of Aeneas shooting seven stags, which he does not himself carry, with Odysseus shooting one, which he himself ties and carries (*Étude sur Virgile*, 1891, p. 243; cited in J. W. Duff, *A Literary History of Rome . . . Golden Age* [London, 1909], p. 459).

the presence of a grand crime, to retreat backward to its rising.¹⁴ Perhaps it was the prevalent Stoic philosophy which directed men's minds to the exploration of their souls; perhaps it was the growing conviction, propagated by Christianity, of the supreme importance of each individual as a son of the Father in Heaven.

Of such influence there is a curious substantiation in certain parallels, probably only fanciful, with events in Scripture. In *Hercules Oetaeus* Philoctetes' report of Hercules' last moments (1618-1757) comes to this: Hercules undergoes a *passion* on a pyre in order to become a savior of mankind; this is to be followed by a *resurrection* and an *apotheosis*; Alcmena *waits at the foot* of the pyre; Hercules speaks to his father in heaven and hears his reply (1725 f.):

Vocat ecce iam me genitor et pandit polos.
venio, pater.

To Theseus, who next after himself was a benefactor of mankind, Hercules says at the end of *Hercules Furens* (1337), *amas nocentes*: a remarkable compliment in the mouth of a pagan.

The implication of the worth of the individual is as characteristic of Seneca as it is alien to his models. The prime consideration in the choice of models seems to have been their aptness for such treatment. One cannot read the messenger's account of the sacrifice of Thyestes' children without thinking of the immolation of Isaac. It is not that little boys were cruelly slaughtered: they were *somebody's* children; and we remember the reiterated "My son" in *Genesis* xxii. It is the same with little Astyanax in the *Troades*; the Euripidean model is heartrending enough, but there we are somehow more angry with war than sorry for Andromache.¹⁵

Aeschylus' Clytemnestra is never introspective, never wavers in her course. Seneca's Clytemnestra is at least momentarily consumed with remorse that is precisely like a Christian sense

¹⁴ E. g., *Medea*, 28-31; *Phaedra*, 674-679; *Agamemnon*, 56. It may be significant that the *Thyestes*, which is the strongest play from my point of view, has the most instances of such cosmic sympathy: 107-122, 776-826, 1077-1080.

¹⁵ It may be worth remarking here that Hippolytus' abandoned sword is curiously like Joseph's abandoned garment; where did Seneca get this particular improvement on Euripides? Also: *Troades*, 697, *miserò datur quodcumque, fortunae datur*, is remarkably like *Proverbs* XIX, 18.

of sin (*Agamemnon*, 108 ff.). So does Thyestes freely admit his guilt and his remorse when confronted by the pretended forgiveness of his brother (*Thyestes*, 512 ff.). Not only remorse but another highly individual feeling, a splendid self-sufficiency with contempt for all the world but self is dramatically expressed in these plays. In this same play (885 ff.) Atreus gloats:

Aequalis astris gradior et cunctos super
altum superbo vertice attingens polum. . . .
dimitto superos.

Nothing can lend a greater thrill of glory, bloody but unbowed, than Ajax in the storm (*Agamemnon*, 532-555):

solus invictus malis
luctatur Ajax . . .
“superasse cuncta, pelagus atque ignes iuvat,
viciisse caelum Palladem fulmen mare
non me fugavit bellici terror dei
Phoebea nec me tela pepulerunt gradu.”

Lucan has a companion piece equally magnificent in Cato's reply to the renegade Labienus who had advised him to consult the oracle of Hammon in connection with the march through the African desert (IX, 566-584). A national pride in Rome's universal civilized dominion is apparent in such a passage as *terminus omnis motus*, etc. (*Medea*, 369 ff.). Similarly the *Phoenissae* (599-616) gives a list of foreign places suitable for carving into realms.

As in Homer it is expected that heroic characters shall prove their right to heroic portions by *doing*. Medea, Phaedra, Clytemnestra, Deianira have nurses so that their doing shall be emphasized by contrast with their nurses merely talking. Medea is active, aggressive, virile in her hate, Andromache in her mother love, Phaedra in her passion. Lycus' suing for her hand inflames Megara into action in *Hercules Furens*; in Euripides she is only the passive sufferer. Deianira in Sophocles' *Trachiniae* is another sufferer, patient and saintly. In his Introduction to that play Jebb (p. xlvi) remarks on the change made by Seneca and its adoption in French dramas on the same theme: “ Apart from this, however, the Deianeira of Seneca, considered as a general type, would be more truly congenial to the French stage. It was difficult for the Latin races to imagine a woman, sup-

planted in her husband's love, who did not wish to kill somebody, — her rival, or her husband, or both." But that is oversimplification. To help toward an understanding of the capacity, the intensity, the course of passion, illustrated in significant individuals and writ large perhaps to be more easily understood of the people, is as high a service as a dramatist can render. At periods of release of human powers individual passions come to be emphasized and understanding of them to be especially sought. So it was in the early Roman Empire, and so it was in the Renaissance. The Renaissance welcomed Seneca's tragedies so eagerly not merely because they were the best available but for their own sake; they answered a requirement in the Renaissance temper just as they had answered a requirement in the early Empire.¹⁶ Literature is good as it contributes to understanding. The humanist's concern with man is preeminently with man's mind; there man's fearful and wonderful workmanship requires to be plumbed. Nothing can be as fascinating as the mind's capacity to sink to abysmal depths, to rise to proportionate heights, and to agonize in both processes. The spate of words which describes this agonizing is not mere bombast or attitudinizing. It represents an authentic craving to increase understanding of life, and so to make humanity more adequate to it. It is to be remarked that the theme of death as a horrid inevitability, as a disgusting dissolution, as the supreme trial which is to be met with heroic fortitude, as, in a word, the touchstone of character, runs through all the plays; and in all the plays there are references to the state after life. That is because as the supreme crisis death determines the weight and meaning of life, and ennobles and illuminates the passions that revolve about it. If to philosophize is to learn to die, then these tragedies are philosophy not for their scattered Stoic commonplaces but in their entire concept.

Absurd excess in rhetoric and a preoccupation with horror that approaches ghouliness are, aside from questions of plot and character, the charges pressed most persistently against Seneca; and his particular crime is that he is responsible for the

¹⁶This point is made in a thoughtful study by Otto Regenbogen, "Schmerz und Tod in den Tragödien Senecas," *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, 1927-1928 (Berlin, 1930), pp. 167-218.

Elizabethan so-called Tragedy of Blood, which sins in these two respects. Here we are fortunate in having the opinion of a scholarly modern poet who is austere, penetrating, spiritual. Mr. T. S. Eliot has written the Introduction to the Elizabethan translation of Seneca in the Tudor series.¹⁷ Mr. Eliot is very far from being a Seneca enthusiast, but he makes three points of an ascending scale of interest for us. (1) The Tragedy of Blood is far gorier than can even be imagined for Seneca and wantonly so (e. g., *Titus Andronicus*), whereas Seneca's use of the revolting is restrained and dramatic; Seneca had nothing to do with this aberration and is superior to it (pp. xxii-xxx). (2) Elizabethan bombast *can* be traced to Seneca. "Certainly it is all 'rhetorical,' but if it had not been rhetorical would it have been anything? . . . Without bombast we should not have had King Lear. The art of dramatic language, we must remember, is as near to oratory as to ordinary speech or to other poetry. On the stage, M. Jean Cocteau reminds us, we must weave a pattern of coarse rope that can be apprehended from the back of the pit, not a pattern of lace that can only be apprehended from the printed page" (p. xxxvii). (3) ". . . when an Elizabethan hero or villain dies, he usually dies in the odour of Seneca. . . . Dante had behind him an Aquinas, and Shakespeare behind him a Seneca." And against a contrary opinion in F. L. Lucas, *Seneca and Elizabethan Tragedy*, p. 122, "I am not here concerned with Shakespeare's 'borrowings' (where I am inclined to agree) but with Shakespeare the voice of his time, and this voice in poetry is in the most serious matters of life and death, most often the voice of Seneca" (pp. xlivi f.).

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¹⁷ *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies Translated into English*, edited by Thomas Newton, London and New York, 1927.

THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER AT ATHENS IN THE EARLY FIFTH CENTURY.

In the fourth and fifth volumes of *The Cambridge Ancient History* Walker and Munro ably present the development of internal affairs at Athens during the first decades of the fifth century. It seems to me, however, that their evidence may in part be read differently; and since their account is recent and full, it will be most convenient to use it as a basis for a new interpretation.

It is necessary at the outset to identify the pro-Persian faction at Athens, if we are to understand correctly the alignment of groups and individuals in the nineties. The vote on aid to the Asiatic Greeks at the time of the Ionian Revolt affords us the opportunity of analysis. By the end of the sixth century Athens had, of course, grave fears concerning Persia, for she had lost Sigeum to the Persians, and now the exiled tyrant Hippias was in Sigeum plotting a Persian invasion of Greece. In 498 B. C. Aristagoras came to Athens on behalf of the Ionian Revolt, and after considerable debate the Athenians decided to send twenty ships, only to recall them after the first reverse. The parties, says Walker (IV, p. 168), were nicely balanced, one side being strong enough to vote aid to the Revolt, though kept down to twenty ships, and then the other party to recall the ships after the first defeat. On the Ionian question, the *fundamentum divisionis*, the parties lined up as follows, according to Walker: The Peisistratid faction naturally voted against aid, but since it was so small, there was a coalition with the Alcmaeonidae. This is an extraordinary statement, for the triumph of Persia, first in Ionia and then in Greece, would mean the end of the Alcmaeonidae. There was not room in Athens for them and Hippias. Let us remember, too, that the supporters of the Alcmaeonidae included not only the city population, many of whom had connections with Ionia, if they were not actually from there, but also the people of the Hills, former supporters of tyranny, but devoted to the Alcmaeonidae ever since Cleisthenes had restored to them the land taken by Isagoras. Besides, since aid was in the first instance voted and since the Alcmaeonidae were the leading group at Athens, it is sensible to think of them as de-

termining the vote. But this leaves us the aristocrats as the pro-Persian faction, and Walker says (IV, p. 169) that these, the party of Isagoras, the old allies of Sparta and the bitter enemies of the Peisistratidae and Alcmaeonidae, were anti-Persian. The fact is, however, that the king of Sparta, Cleomenes, had once suggested the restoration of Hippias, and a reconciliation between Hippias and the aristocrats would now be natural. Where else in Athens might Hippias find supporters—surely not among the democratic masses? And who but the tyrants were left to help the aristocrats in their struggle against Cleisthenes and democracy? There was plenty of room in Athens for Hippias and the nobles, many of whom, indeed, had prospered under the Peisistratidae. The small number of boats sent to Persia represented probably not so much a slim factional victory as the Greek habit of caution. The Athenians were not anxious to invite trouble with Persia, and yet would be happy to be on the winning side. After the first defeat it was common sense to withdraw.

Miletus was destroyed in 494 B. C. and soon afterward the Persians began their preparations for an invasion of northern Greece. During this crisis Themistocles was elected archon for the year 493-492 B. C. A *novus homo*, Themistocles drew his support from the trading and industrial classes, the same group, as Walker correctly states, that had supported Cleisthenes. But Walker must be wrong (IV, p. 170) in suggesting that Cleisthenes' Medizing had cost his party the support of the city population. It does not take much argument to show that the masses, once started on the road of radicalism, will quickly abandon their old leader in favor of a new and more radical one. The return of Miltiades at this moment greatly complicated the political situation at Athens. Walker summarizes his position thus (IV, p. 265): As previously stated (IV, pp. 138, 170 f.), there were four political parties at Athens at the time of Marathon, and more than once two of these parties, the Alcmaeonidae and tyrannists, acted together, while the aristocrats under Miltiades "made common cause with the radical party under Themistocles on all questions of foreign policy." This gives us the union of two sets of natural enemies and assumes that the Athenians could isolate foreign policy from domestic. In any case, Miltiades was now tried, or charged, with tyranny, and was

acquitted. How did the Alcmaeonidae, Themistocles, and Miltiades line up in this famous case? Miltiades was a noble, of the great Philaid clan, familiar with Persian military tactics, but now Persia's enemy on account of his support of the Ionian Revolt. If we are correct in saying that the Alcmaeonidae were not pro-Persian, then Walker is wrong (IV, p. 171) in connecting foreign policy with the trial,¹ for the three actors in the drama were all anti-Persian. The struggle was a domestic one and, as we shall see, the various appeals were addressed to the masses, the aristocrats being ignored.

Munro pictures (IV, p. 230) Miltiades returning at the time of crisis, an aristocrat and kinsman of Isagoras (the rival of Cleisthenes), just the man desired by the Opposition (the aristocrats). His rank and connection approved him to the nobility, while the merchants and artists (from Ionia) liked his imperialism. This gives us curious bed-fellows, impossible ones, if we are right in saying that the aristocrats were pro-Persian. We then come to the statement that Miltiades was acclaimed the champion of the malcontents against the government and was elected general. But Themistocles was the "government," and as anti-Persian as Miltiades, whereas the point of *The Cambridge Ancient History* is that this struggle revolved around foreign policy, the one field in which the aristocrats under Miltiades and the radicals under Themistocles "made common cause." We must follow Munro's argument further. No war against Persia, he says (IV, p. 231), was possible without Spartan aid, and the Alcmaeonidae, knowing that Sparta would demand their expulsion and the repeal of the constitution, decided it was better to "come to terms with Hippias, restore the monarchy, and by sacrifice of the form preserve the substance of democracy." It is hard to believe that the Alcmaeonidae could have thought that; besides, it was perfectly possible for the Alcmaeonidae to be both anti-Spartan and anti-Persian.

The picture becomes clear and reasonable as soon as we regard the struggle as primarily domestic, with Themistocles at the center. Miltiades, a noble and enemy of Persia, returned home at the moment when Themistocles and the Alcmaeonidae were at the height of their strife. Anxious for power himself,

¹ During the Persian crisis, that is, Themistocles came to the rescue of Miltiades.

Miltiades would hardly be expected to align himself with the rival Alcmaeonid clan, whereas in the radical Themistocles he found just the ally he wanted. Themistocles, a *novus homo*, was glad to be associated with a name. He was not going out of his way, during his archonship, to save the leader of the aristocrats for the sake of collaboration on foreign policy. Together, these two enemies of Persia, one a democrat and the other a noble turned democrat, might destroy the Alcmaeonidae. The Alcmaeonidae, for their part, feared Themistocles more than Miltiades, who was still something of an unknown quantity, but decided that the best way to strike at the great radical was through his new ally. The three leaders appealed for support to the same group, the city masses. The people, thinking perhaps that coöperation with Sparta would be easier with the Alcmaeonidae gone, chose the radicalism of Themistocles and the name of Miltiades. This reconstruction, which makes subsequent events easier to understand, involves no contradiction and, among other things, does not make Miltiades the leader of the aristocrats who, as has been argued above, were pro-Persian. Furthermore, it avoids an unnatural alliance between aristocrats and city masses and the even more unnatural alliance between Alcmaeonidae and tyrannists. Foreign crises might come and go, but the struggle for power at Athens seemed destined to be fought out within the various factions of the masses.

The victory of Themistocles meant neither the permanent ascendancy of himself, which would be almost impossible in Greece, nor the disappearance, politically, of the aristocrats. We can see, however, as we look back on later events, that only those leaders could hope for success who governed, nominally at least, in the interest of the masses. As a matter of fact, the rest of the story can be briefly told, for only a few questions need be discussed in order to make clear the general development. The essential point is that we must find the connecting link between the two great constitutional changes in the period from Marathon to Pericles, the attacks on the archonship in 487-486 B. C. and on the Areopagus in 462-461 B. C. Once we see the connection, we shall have the key to an understanding of the development of the undiluted democracy, even though wise leadership might keep the new democracy temporarily in check.

Miltiades' unsuccessful expedition to Paros after Marathon

resulted in his conviction. For the moment, at least, the Alcmaeonidae were in the ascendant, and one of their number, Aristeides, was elected archon in 489 B. C. His election and the conviction of Miltiades were not, however, signs of the triumph of the treacherous Alcmaeonidae,² for we have simply the results of normal factional strife. As Walker points out (IV, p. 266), Themistocles struck back, ostracizing his opponents, Hipparchus (487 B. C.), Megacles (486 B. C.), Xanthippus (484 B. C.), and Aristeides (482 B. C.). And in the year 487-486 B. C. he caused the archonship to be thrown open to the lot, thus making possible "One Man Power." This is, indeed, a partial explanation of the attack on the archonship, though Walker immediately leaves the point and suggests that Themistocles' election to the new office of *strategos autocrator* in 480 B. C. marked his final triumph over Aristeides and involved "a question of momentous importance for Athens and for Greece": namely, the creation of a navy.

We must return to Walker's description of the constitutional changes between Cleisthenes and the invasion of Xerxes (IV, pp. 154 f.) to understand his point of view. The most important fact about the creation of the strategia in 501 B. C. was that it "gave the opportunity for one-man power in the democratic constitution." This opportunity, however, would never have come, had not the archonship been thrown open to the lot. The lot's "application to that which had hitherto been the chief office in the state marks a very definite stage in the growth of the democracy. All our ancient authorities are agreed in regarding sortition as a democratic device for equalizing the chances of rich and poor. . . . The application of the lot to the archonship in 487 B. C. affords conclusive evidence that by that time the office had lost its importance." Certainly this marked a definite stage in the growth of the democracy, but for other reasons. The answer to our question is to be found in the driving ambition of Themistocles, whose radicalism and Persian policy had wide appeal. This would be of little help to him, however, no matter how many enemies he might ostracize, since he was ineligible for reëlection to the archonship. To destroy

² A refutation of the theory that the Alcmaeonidae were traitors at Marathon may be found in H. G. Hudson's article, "The Shield Signal at Marathon," *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XLII (1937), pp. 443 f.

one office and substitute another in its place is not easy and probably not possible unless the soil is already fertile. The archonship had not lost its importance by 487 B. C., nor were the Athenians motivated by a desire to leave elections to the gods. But the Athenians were ready to make an attack on two institutions which had long been associated with aristocracy. By applying sortition to the archonship, the people changed immediately the character of a great office and indirectly that of the Areopagus as well, since that Council was made up of ex-archons. The attack, however, was not as direct as one might suspect. Walker is careful (IV, p. 156) to call attention to the safeguard known as *procrisis*, whereby the nine archons were chosen by lot from 500 names previously selected by the demes. He should have added that these 500 names were limited to the two top census classes. The city masses, led by Themistocles, had dared to attack two ancient institutions. How long would it be before they abolished them?

The final Persian invasion occupied men's minds in 480 and 479 B. C. For the next years the success of Cimon, a liberal conservative, held in check the radical forces. But the opposition was waiting and in 462 B. C. felt strong enough to attack him on a charge of bribery. The leader of the democrats was Ephialtes, who believed in a further democratization of the constitution and in a break with Sparta. He was aided by Pericles, whose mother's uncle had been the great Alcmaeonid Cleisthenes. Cimon won, but when a little later he was dismissed from Ithome, the pro-Spartan policy of Athens collapsed, the aristocrats were discredited, and Cimon was ostracized (461 B. C.). The attack begun in 487-486 B. C. upon the strongholds of aristocracy at Athens was now resumed with vigor. Prosecutions of individual members of the Areopagus were followed by a reform of the Council, which deprived it of all its powers except those relating to homicide. Indeed, even the archonship was stripped of all trace of aristocratic influence, for in 457-456 B. C. it was thrown open to the *zeugitae*, and shortly afterward the preliminary selection of candidates was made by lot. The people of Athens were supreme, though Pericles might keep them in check. The aristocrats, under Thucydides son of Melesias, had to content themselves with nibbling at Pericles' imperial policy.

NOTES ON LUCRETIUS.

I. Ancient quotations of the *De Rerum Natura*.

Ancient quotations of Lucretius in the Grammarians and the Church Fathers have often been used to restore corrupt passages in his work as it has come down to us in the manuscripts O and Q, though Hermann Diels in his edition of 1923 was the first since Lachmann in 1882 to make full use of them. Take, for instance, the question of the order of certain lines. In book VI Giussani, Munro, Merrill, Bailey, and Diels shift the order of lines 1174-1180 to agree with the arrangement first suggested by Naugerius, and yet Diels alone notes that this order is at least partly confirmed by Macrobius' quotation (*Sat.*, VI, 2, 13) of 1179 immediately after 1177. A similar instance, though noted by Lachmann many years ago,¹ has been overlooked by Diels, and likewise by Martin in the Teubner text published 11 years later in 1934. Modern editors agree in rearranging Lucretius VI, 929-935 in the order 929, 934, 935, 930-933 to match the sequence in which they run in IV, 223-229. In so doing they are confirmed by ancient evidence, for Priscian (*Gr. L.*, II, 444, 14) quotes lines 929 and 934 in juxtaposition with the comment "Lucretius in VI." It is clear, therefore, that he had this passage in mind and not the earlier one in book IV.

II. "Lucretian" fragments.

Carlo Pascal in his article "Carmi Perduti di Lucrezio"² accepts as probably Lucretian nearly all of the fragments that the Grammarians have attributed to him and likewise many passages to which no name has been attached, as for example certain parts of Isidorus' writings. It is striking, however, that Isidorus often echoes Servius rather than Lucretius in his discussions of natural phenomena. For example, in explaining the origin of fire from friction³ Isidorus repeats as his own several

¹ *In T. Lucreti Cari De Rerum Natura Libris Commentarius*, ed. 4, p. 403.

² *Riv. di Filol.*, XXXIV (1906), pp. 257-268.

³ *Etym.*, XIII, 9, 1.

lines taken word for word from Servius' treatment of the same topic in his comments on Vergil's *Aeneid*, I, 743. From the same Servian passage Isidorus⁴ adopts a theory of the origin of rain without troubling to express it in his own words. Again in quoting Lucretius I, 314 Isidorus sides with Servius against the testimony of O and the corrector of Q.⁵ If further proof be needed that Isidorus acquired much of his Lucretius second-hand from Servius there is his quotation (one of the few that Diels overlooks, but noted in the later Teubner text) of Lucretius I, 715.⁶ Here he uses the verb "nascuntur" instead of "pro-crescere," in a passage that demands an infinitive rather than an indicative, though in the single line "nascuntur" makes perfectly good sense. Servius⁷ had twice made the same mistake in quoting the line, and used the same word, "nascuntur."

In commenting on these fragments editors usually pass on to Lucilius any line that they cannot accept as Lucretian. The fact that so little of this author's work has come down to us and still more the resemblance in the two poets' names makes this somewhat plausible. It is not impossible, though, that some of these doubtful "Lucretian" phrases may be remnants of lost poems of Lucan, such as that on Orpheus. In his case, too, the first three letters of the name are identical with that of Lucretius. Moreover, the key words of three of the fragments (nos. 5, 7, and 4 in Diels' edition) *torpor*, *panacea*, and the verb *oblimo* occur in Lucan's extant work⁸ and may have been used elsewhere. By far the strongest argument for such a confusion is the queer mistake that Servius makes in a note on Vergil's *Georg.*, I, 139 on the declension of *viscus*:

⁴ *Ibid.*, XIII, 10, 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XX, 14, 1; cf. *Serv.*, *ad Georg.*, I, 46.

⁶ *Etym.*, XIII, 10, 4.

⁷ *Ad Aen.*, I, 123; *ad Ecl.*, VI, 31.

⁸ Frag. no. 5 from Nonius, 339 L, is "tantis *conduxerat omnia torpor*"; cf. Lucan, IV, 290:

alligat atque animum *subducto robore torpor*,
and Lucan, VII, 466:

nec libuit mutare locum; tamen *omnia torpor*
pectore constrinxit, gelidusque in viscera sanguis,

and note also that here he very nearly repeats his own "viscere sanguis" of III, 658. *Oblimo* is used by Lucan in VI, 364 and *panacea* in IX, 918.

. . . et si de carne loquebatur, 'viscere' debuit dicere: Lucretius 'permixtus viscere sanguis,' item ipse 'viscus gigni sanguenque creare.'

The second of the two examples is I, 837. But one may look in vain for the other in Lucretius, since it is actually line 658 of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, book III. If Servius could make such a slip here, perhaps because of an abbreviation in his own notes, he and others might have done so elsewhere.

III. Lucretius VI, 839 ff.

Since Lachmann⁹ editors have agreed upon a lacuna of 52 lines (a whole leaf of the archetype) following line 839 in book VI. Certainly the line

frigidior porro in puteis aestate fit humor

follows most illogically upon the heels of the discussion of the Avernian Lake and the region fatal to birds. As proof that we have here a lacuna scholars have quoted Servius, *ad Georg.*, IV, 51,¹⁰ claiming that he implies a fuller discussion of temperature than has come down to us in the Lucretian passage. Actually, Servius only states that Lucretius was accepting the beliefs of the *physici* when he gives an explanation of the well that is cold in summer and warm in winter. In any case, Lachmann himself noted that Servius sometimes confuses the statements of commentators on Lucretius with the poet's own opinions,¹¹ so that the passage is no strong proof that we are confronted with a lacuna following line 839. Besides if one adds 52 lines to a discussion of temperature already comprising 69 lines (counting red letter titles) the passage becomes disproportionately long in comparison with the space allotted to any other phenomenon in book VI, always excepting the mighty electrical storms to which the poet devotes a quarter of the book. Indeed, it seems possible to consider that the illogicality of the passage is due rather to a

⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 398 f.

¹⁰ . . . secundum physicos, qui dicunt quo tempore hic hiems est aestatem esse sub terris, et versa vice cum hic aestas, illuc hiemem. quod etiam Lucretius <VI, 840> exsequitur, et trahit in argumentum putealem aquam, quae aestate frigidissima est, hieme vero tepidior.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 341 f.

transposition than to an actual loss of lines, since lines 840-847 might follow quite suitably after line 878 as another instance of the rarefaction of the earth by heat and its condensation when cold. From a discussion of why the water is colder in the daytime than at night the poet might logically pass with a "porro" to a discussion of why it is also colder in summer than in winter, and the *frigidus* of 873 would lead on to the *frigidior* six lines later, while the passage beginning in similar fashion just eight lines beyond (line 879)

frigidus est etiam fons, supra quem sita saepe

follows along naturally as the second main division of the subject which is introduced by line 848

esse apud Hammonis fanum fons luce diurna.

We have here, indeed, the opening line of the whole discussion. It sounds very like the beginning of a thought paragraph, and to proceed thus from a description of the Avernian places (or lakes as the poet calls them in line 738) to one of fountains seems not too abrupt in a book, such as VI, composed of rather heterogeneous material.

Is such a transposition possible on paleographical grounds? We must suppose that an early copyist substituted a group of lines beginning *frigidus est etiam* for one beginning *frigidior porro* and that although the lines were later inserted elsewhere, with perhaps a mark to indicate their true position, the scribe who in turn copied this manuscript inserted them wrongly in the position in which they were found in the codex that is the parent of O and Q. The fact that between lines 840 and 880 no less than 4 lines begin with the syllables *frigid* (lines 840, 849, 873, 879) and one with a similar *frigore* (line 845) might easily have led to the confusion that makes such a transposition possible.

The suggested arrangement appears not only possible but probable when one sets down the key lines, those beginning with the syllables *frigid* in this order, adding to them the line that introduces the subject:

848 Esse apud Hammonis fanum fons luce diurna
 849 frigidus et calidus nocturno tempore fertur.

873 frigidus hanc ob rem fit fons in luce diurna

 840 frigidior porro in puteis aestate fit humor

 879 frigidus est etiam fons supra quem sita saepe

Here we have Lucretius' whole argument in skeleton form, reasonable both in sequence of thought and in the use of connectives. Any other order of lines completely upsets the logicality of the structure.

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ON AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS xxi, 2, 4 AND xxvi, 5, 2.

In *A.J.P.*, LVIII (1937), p. 395 I said that the rejected manuscript reading *pridie*, with the meaning of *pridem*, is probably sound in Ammianus Marcellinus xxi, 2, 4 and xxvi, 5, 2, but that, although I suspected there were other examples of *pridie* so used, I was unable to produce one. I had forgotten *Paneg. Lat.*, IV, 30 *perstringi haec satis est, quod etiam pridie prolixius mihi dicta sunt* and XII, 8 *sed enim aerumnosa illa etiam pridie media aetate nostra civili sanguine maculata Verona*. W. A. Baehrens, *Paneg. Latinorum Editionis Novae Praefatio* (Groningen, 1910), p. 74 quotes Sulpicius Severus, *Dial.*, I, 16, 3 *fasciculum herbarum quem collectum pridie attingere non audebat, obiecit*; II, 11, 4 *et iam pridie imperator ex eorum sententia decreverat*; 15, 2 *Briktio furibundus irrupit: ibi plenus insaniae evomit in Martinum mille convicia; obiurgatus enim pridie ab eo fuerat*. Halm should not have omitted this use of *pridie* from the *Index verborum et locutionum* of his edition of Sulpicius Severus.

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REVIEWS.

ETTORE BIGNONE. Poeti Apollinei: Sophocle, Euripide, Orazio.
Bari, Laterza e figli (Biblioteca di Cultura Moderna), 1937.
Pp. 269.

The Nietzschean title attached to these, in the main reprinted, papers must not be taken too exactly; neither Sophocles nor Euripides is quite an "Apollonian" poet in Nietzsche's sense, and that his meaning is intended seems clear on p. 103. The essays are on the *Trachiniae*, on the *Oedipus at Colonus* (with a translation of the scene between Oedipus and Polynices), on the Modernity of Euripides, and on Human and Roman Elements in Horace. At the end are three studies on Horace and his Greek originals.

Bignone's translations of the *Trachiniae* and the *Coloneus* have been successfully produced in the Greek theatre at Syracuse, and what he here says in defense of the tragic power of these plays gains legitimate force from his observation of actual spectators. The essays on both plays abound in good remarks on the value of various arrangements. Thus the necessity of Iole's silence in the *Trachiniae* is demonstrated; anything she could have said would have ruined the effect, yet she had to be present. The intentional contrast between the two chief characters is dwelt on; it is right that Heracles should go to his death without a kind word for Deianeira, since "to wish Heracles to deviate from his dramatic line and intersect that of Deianeira would be an artistic error." And a main virtue of both essays is to show how much Sophocles relied on contrast in producing his effects. The *Trachiniae* as a whole is interpreted as a tragedy of character, the *Coloneus* as a drama of religious and political meaning that by a progression of contrast and crescendo secures the effect of religious catharsis.

So long as Bignone keeps his eye on the plays, reporting what he finds, he is a profitable guide; but when at the end of each essay, and very elaborately in the second, he goes beyond the plays in hand and attempts to account in general for the typical Sophoclean effect, we must part from him. The effect, he says (p. 93), is "essenzialmente conchiusa nella magnanimità dei suoi eroi." His position is perhaps made clear in the following sentences (p. 56):

The *Trachiniae* is above all not the tragedy of Deianeira and Heracles, but, in the sorrow of Deianeira and Heracles, the tragedy of human destiny. A destiny not felt with Oriental fatalism that prostrates and nullifies the will, but with that Greek sense of drama that cannot conceive of heroism save in the spirited struggle of the will against Fate.

A destiny that watches, infallible, in the skies, but that operates on earth, before us, on the stage, in the hearts and in the strong and active wills and passions of men. Everything must yield to it, but only the active force of man can mold it and molding it mold the image of his moral grandeur. . . . The tragedy of destiny is thus the tragedy of human greatness. . . . Only the love of Antigone could create the heroic destiny of her death; if, like the mild Ismene, she had submitted, her life would have remained for ever in the shade, resigned.

What seems evident here, and indeed throughout the two essays, is that Bignone has too readily surrendered himself to a sympathy for the characters. They have to think that theirs is the only right course, and Bignone joins them. He is able to do so because he thinks that the forcible, the heroic, and the magnanimous were, of themselves alone, the ideal of Sophocles as they seem to be his own ideal. What we know of Sophocles is against this. No good comes of suppressing the fact that these persons are in a highly emotional state which, though it enhances their heroism, keeps them from acting with perfect prudence. It is not necessary to be an Antigone in order not to be an Ismene. Magnanimity and prudence can reside in the same man, as the figure of Theseus in the *Coloneus* shows in pointed contrast with the passionate Oedipus. Bignone dismisses the concept of tragic flaw (p. 99) apparently under the impression that it means criminal or ritual guilt. Of course Oedipus' crimes are "not willed" (p. 97); the matter is subtler than that—responsibility does not end with good intentions. The *Antigone*, again, is not a struggle of the will against fate, but a struggle of the will of Antigone against the will of Creon. The pity of the outcome is that it is not inevitable, save in the human sense that Antigone and Creon "could not be" other than themselves. If this is what Bignone means by destiny, he is improperly playing on the word. The characters are responsible for their catastrophes, but do not deserve them. And Sophocles portrays this situation in a spirit of religious awe. He neither aims to justify the universe to man nor, in Bignone's spirit, to justify man against the universe. Probably he would think either attempt presumptuous. A certain modern temper finds it hard to conceive that such a spirit of reverence was ever sincere.

The nobility of Sophocles' persons, the catastrophe more terrible than they deserve, but also their passionate blindness—these remain the principal elements of the effect, and it is by his mode of balancing them that the poet creates the effect peculiar to him. The critic who suppresses one of them and urges forward *l'eroico* and *il destino*, with no word of *αἰδώς*, seems to echo the sounds of modern Italy more than the melody of Sophocles.

The third essay, on Euripides, contains a good analysis of the difference between Euripides and Aeschylus in their outlook on various matters, such as Aeschylus' confidence in action and

Euripides' confidence in thought, their views on nature and religion, their treatment of character, and the like. Studies of this kind, emphasizing the shift in values in an age that was marked by change, are always welcome.

The best essay in the volume is the last, on Horace. The poet is looked at from his Greek, Roman, and Italian sides. His relation to his Greek models is treated as "a loving conquest of Greek art" in the form and substance of poetry. Another point that is well developed is the presence in Horace of the Roman "expectation of eternity": "One feels that the poetry of Pindar was created in the joy of the instant, . . . without ambition of that eternal that becomes concrete in the sublime [?] perpetuity of history¹ and in the progressive continuity of civilization, of which Greece, great creator as she was of civilization and beauty, had no hope nor concept. For unlike Israel and Rome, Greece did not believe in the eternity of her own mission" (p. 175). Similarly (p. 214): "No Greek poet . . . had ever royally taken possession in art of the ideal of his race" as Virgil and Horace took possession of the Roman ideal.

Editors of Horace will need to take account of the suggestions made in the brief studies with which the volume ends. The first seeks to derive *Carm.*, 3, 19 from three successive *scola* in *P. Oxyr.*, 15, 1795. The resemblance is too faint to prove borrowing on the part of Horace, but Bignone's arguments have substantial value in bringing Horace's poem within the circle of ideas in which it was doubtless written. His reference of *Sat.*, 2, 6, 14 ff. to *P. Oxyr.*, 17, 2079 is more probable. In the second study, following a hint of Heinze, he is able to point out details in *Epist.*, 1, 1 that bring this introductory poem into relation with the *Protrepticus* of Aristotle. Finally it is adequately shown that *concordia discors* in *Epist.*, 1, 12, 19 refers to Heraclitus and not, as has regularly been said, to Empedocles.

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The John H. Scheide Biblical Papyri Ezekiel. Edited by
ALLAN CHESTER JOHNSON, HENRY SNYDER GEHMAN,
EDMUND HARRIS KASE. Princeton, Princeton University
Press, 1938. Pp. xii + 181; 43 plates. \$10.00.

It was an exceedingly valuable acquisition that Mr. John H. Scheide made when he bought 21 papyri leaves during his stay

¹ "Nella magnanima perpetuità della storia." Bignone seems to have a tendency to let words run away with him; in these essays the word is *magnanimità* used in season and out; in his *Teocrito* it was *tonalità* (cf. A.J.P., LVII [1936], p. 358).

in Egypt in the winter of 1935-36. For they contained the Greek text of Ezekiel 19:12-39:29 and were a part of the notable collection of the Beatty Chester papyri which among others contained the Greek text of Ezekiel 11:25-17:21 in somewhat fragmentary form. The leaves of the Scheide papyri are all numbered on both sides, beginning with p. 39 and extending to p. 90. Unfortunately, pp. 41, 42, 57, 58, 65, 66, 75-78 and all pages after p. 90 are missing. We can only hope that they will turn up later. The codex contained besides Ezekiel also Daniel, Susanna and Bel, and Esther. Due to the numbering of the pages in the MS itself the extent of the codex can be reconstructed with "reasonable accuracy." Of the 21 leaves, 19 are in almost perfect condition, 2 are badly damaged. The text is in clear, careful, easily legible uncials. It is reproduced in somewhat reduced size on 42 fine plates, and a full-sized specimen is given on plate 43.

The transcription and edition of the text, with a careful collation with codices BAQ and with the lacunae filled out in brackets from codex B, were made by Professor Johnson in a model fashion. He is also responsible for the Introduction, and the sections on the Date, the Description, the Punctuation, and the Relation to other uncial texts, all of which are done most admirably.

Professor Gehman has contributed extended careful *observationes criticae* in which all variations are discussed in detail. Besides, he has composed the sections on the Relations to the Hebrew, Syro-Hexaplar and Greek texts, in which the minute observations are summarized and placed in larger perspective.

Professor Kase is responsible for the parts on the Relation to the Old Latin, the Use of the *nomen sacrum*, and the translator(s) of Ezekiel.

The great value of these texts is already well known, because they are part of the same codex as the Beatty Chester Papyri. It lies in the early date of the MS which goes back to the third century, if not indeed to the latter part of the second; it is therefore at least a century older than codex B. The text has, of course, the usual scribal mistakes due to haplography, dittography, homoeoteleuton, and confusion of letters. It has also a number of variant readings or doublets, e. g., in 21:24(30); 23:29; 27:8 which shows that it also is a mixed text. It has, moreover, some additions "which have no warrant either in our present Hebrew text or in any other Greek MS" in 38:21 and 39:41 (p. 13).

We find some better readings in the Scheide text than in BAQ, e. g., *λημφθηναι* 21:23(28); *εθνων* 20:40; but also some inferior ones, e. g., *Ιδουμαι[αν]* for *Ιουδαιαν* 21:20(25); *χειρα* *και* for *χαρακα* 21:22(27); *ομοια* for *ετοιμη* 21:11(16); *απολεισθε*

for *αλωσεοθε* 21:24(29); it omits *εν καιρῳ* in 21:25(30) and *Φαρω* in 32:2, etc. In 23:25 it has an interesting conflation.

By all means the most important contribution of the Scheide papyri to the textual history of the LXX is "the use of the single *κς* in designating the *nomen sacrum* where the other uncials more closely represent the present Massoretic text by a doublet of some form or other" (p. 19). That makes this text of singular significance, for it proves that the LXX had originally only the single *κυριος* and this in turn shows that the original Hebrew had only JHVH, cf. Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*, 3d edition. Professor Kase has shown, to my mind convincingly, that the Scheide text, in all probability, had the single *κς* originally in chapters 40-48 also, which are now missing.

Aside from this exceedingly significant help the Scheide text does not take us further in our attempt at reconstruction of the original Hebrew text of Ezekiel. It is true, it agrees in some minor matters with Hebrew manuscripts over against the Massoretic text, e. g., with two in 2:41 reading *šām* for *bām*; with two in 22:2 omitting *wəattāh*; with many in 38:14 omitting *halō'*; and with many in 39:4 adding *rabbīm*. But these are of no serious consequence.

In 28:16 its mutilated transliteration *το χερουβ το σεχ* shows that the original LXX had *το χερουβ το σεχεχ* (*σοχεχ*), of which the final syllable *εχ* was omitted by haplography. All other Greek MSS omit it, except Q, which translates the transliterated *το σεχεχ* by *το συσκαζον*. The Old Latin had already found the mutilated Greek text and reproduced it: *cherubin sech*. Of course, nobody had doubted the originality of the Hebrew, but for the LXX this witness is important.

In 36:8 the Scheide text alone of all Greek texts did not yet have the variant *ελπιζονσιν* but still had the correct original reading *εγγιζοντι*. However, the variant reading was so evidently merely a scribal error that it had been recognized as such long ago and Rahlfs had adopted it as the original reading in his text before the Scheide text was known. That the other Greek texts preferred it to the correct one is quite intelligible, for it makes excellent sense. The original had, "they are at hand to come home," while the inferior variant read, "they hope to come home."

In 27:16 the Scheide text has a doublet *και εκ Θαρσεις + Θασοβ* (corrupted from *Θαβος*). ΘΑΡΣΙΚ and ΘΑΒΟΚ are Greek, not Hebrew variants. The translator connected BOC with the last syllable of the preceding Hebrew word *rkmh*, reading it however *mth* instead of *mh* and regarding the *m* as the preposition *min* = from, and thus translated and trans-literated *εκ Θαβος*.

In regard to the lacuna in 20:6 it may perhaps be suggested

that it contained very likely $\gamma\nu\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\lambda\alpha\beta\omega\mu\eta\nu\tau\eta\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\mu\eta\nu$, the $\mu\eta\nu$ going on the next line where there is enough space for it. This is a repetition of v. 5. For a similar repetition cf. 21:30(35). Codex A expresses the same well-suited meaning by $\omega\mu\sigma\alpha$, which however is corrupted from $\eta\tau\omega\mu\alpha\sigma\alpha$ (B), a free but neither improbable nor poor rendering of the Hebrew *tartî!* Just before this part of the lacuna the suggested $\chi\omega\rho\alpha\tau$ is altogether unlikely because the Greek translator of Ezekiel does not use $\chi\omega\rho\alpha$ for the singular of the Hebrew *'āres*, except once only in 21:19(24), although it occurs frequently in the book. We shall hardly be wrong in reading $\gamma\eta\nu$ here also, with all the other texts.

When we realize that the Scheide text is closer to the original LXX than the others, its high importance becomes apparent, and our gratitude for this excellent edition of the text and its photographic reproduction is correspondingly great.

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HERMANN DIELS. Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker. Fünfte Auflage herausgegeben von WALTHER KRANZ. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1934-1938. Vol. I, pp. xiii + 482; vol. II, pp. 426; vol. III (Wortindex, Namen- und Stellenregister), pp. 654.

In 1922 this work was published in its fourth edition, but that was only an anastatic reprint of the previous editions eked out by supplementary sections containing additions and corrections. Diels in his preface expressed his regret at being prevented from giving his collection the revision and rearrangement which he then considered desirable; at the same time he indicated what this rearrangement would have been. Now Kranz, the author of the word-index which accompanied the second edition, has attempted to realize the plan which Diels himself had not the opportunity to carry out. The material of the supplements of the fourth edition has been incorporated into the text in its proper place along with a considerable amount of material brought to light by the subsequent research of Kranz himself and of other scholars. The arrangement of the work has been changed by placing the early cosmological, astrological, and gnomological material at the beginning of the first volume, the sophistical material at the end of the second; the order of the fragments within each section remains the same as before except for slight changes in the sections devoted to Parmenides and Empedocles (changes which Diels himself desired to make)

and the creation for Anaximander of a section B containing five passages supposedly preserving the original words of that philosopher. The translation of the original fragments has been "modernized," but wherever the interpretation deviates from that of Diels this has been duly noted; it has been the purpose of the new editor "das Werk im Geiste von Hermann Diels nach dem Masse der eigenen Kraft zu erneuern."

The mere checking of references and readings in a collection of this extent and variety is an enormous task, and errors as well as omissions are bound to survive the most painstaking editing. Witnesses to this fact are the two lists of "Zusätze und Berichtigungen" (vol. II, pp. 419-426 and vol. III, pp. 652-654) to which it is important to call the attention of all who use the collection. There remain corrections and additions which have escaped even these lists, however; and rather than pronounce an enthusiastic but general eulogy on a work, the character of which is already known and appreciated, I would pay my deep respect to the importance of the collection and to the pious industry of Kranz by supplementing these lists to the best of my ability.

ORPHEUS: I, p. 3, 3: cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* IV, 176-177. **PHERCYDES:** I, p. 44, 11: add Maximus Tyr. VII, 4 (p. 81, 9-13, Hobein). I, p. 46, 2: *καὶ* before *τῷ* should be excised (cf. Bonitz and Ross). I, p. 46, 4: for VI 9 read V 1, 9. **THALES:** I, p. 77, 7: on *τύπες* see Plato, *Theaetetus* 152 E and *Cratylus* 402 B. I, p. 77, 12: It is wrong to stop the quotation here (983 B 33) for 984 A 2-3 shows that Aristotle's information about Thales is uncertain (*Θαλῆς μέντοι λέγεται οὕτως ἀποφήνασθαι . . .*) and the next sentence ("Ἴππωνα γὰρ . . .") indicates that he himself is aware that some of what is really Hippo's may have been transferred to Thales; with p. 77, 6 cf. *De Anima* 405 B 3. I, p. 79, 27: cf. 22 A 9. Add under Thales: Iamblichus, *In Nicom. Arith. Introd.*, p. 10, 8-10 (Pistelli). **ANAXIMANDER:** I, p. 82, 10: cf. Heidel, "Anaximander's Book, . . ." (*Proc. Am. Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, LVI [April, 1921], pp. 239-288); Kranz reprints the note of Diels refuted by Heidel, *op. cit.*, p. 242, n. 9. I, p. 85, 9: The excerpt will not construe without the preceding *φανερὸν ὅτι* here omitted. I, p. 82, 35: for or. 36 read or. 26. I, p. 86, 5, note: "Verwechslung m. Anaxagoras"; this is hardly credible, for Anaxagoras in the original is treated only four lines below (cf. also Heidel, *Class. Phil.*, VII [1912], p. 230, n. 3). I, p. 88, 33: *ἐπ' ὀλίγον χρόνον μεταβιῶνται*, corrected in ed. 3, is printed here, but the false reading of eds. 1 and 2 (*ἐπ' ὀλίγον μεταβῶνται*) is reprinted in the index (III, p. 277 B 19) from the index of 1910. I, p. 90, 8 ff.: cf. Heidel, "Anaximander's Book, . . .," pp. 255-260. **ANAXIMENES:** I, p. 93, 26: Heath's suggestion, *ἐνίοις* for *ἐνιοι* (*Aristarchus of Samos*, p. 42) should be mentioned. I, p. 94, 36-37: For the whole sentence

and Galen's criticism cf. I, p. 124, 20 ff.; the sentence of Hippocrates, *De Nat. Hom.* I, on which this is a commentary, runs: οὐτε γὰρ τὸ πάμπαν ἡέρα λέγω τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν εἶναι οὐτε πῦρ οὐτε ὕδωρ οὐτε γῆν οὐτε ἄλλο οὐδέν, ὅτι μὴ φανερόν ἔστιν ἐνεὸν ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ.¹ The last sentence of § 1 is printed in 30 A 6 but all of § 1 at least should be printed somewhere. I, p. 95, 11: cf. also Aristotle, *Meteorology* 367 A 33-B 4. XENOPHANES: I, p. 122, 38: cf. Aristotle, *Meteorology* 357 A 15-18. I, p. 123, 16-17: cf. Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 984 A 29-31. I, p. 124, 25: to the reference "Arist. Metaph. 989 A 5" add: but contrast 1014 B 33. HERACLITUS: I, p. 145, 32-33: add Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 1062 A 31-35. I, p. 146, 17: It is misleading to quote only ὥσπερ Ἡ. φησιν ἀπαντά γίγνεσθαι ποτε πῦρ, for this is not even the whole sentence; it is intelligible only if read in context (*Physics* 204 B 30 ff.). Simplicius, *Phys.*, p. 480, 30 ff. should be cited to show how he understood the sentence. I, p. 146, 18: for 94 read 294. I, p. 147, 24: de Anima 405 A 24 should be 405 A 25 and the quotation should not stop where it does, for lines 26-29 belong to Aristotle's report of Heraclitus. I, p. 148, 34: cf. Sextus, *Adv. Math.*, VII, 349. I, p. 154, 6: It should be noted that Bywater ascribed καὶ ψυχαὶ . . . ἀνθυμῶνται to Zeno. I, p. 156, 2: place question mark after καλεῖ. I, p. 157, 3-4: Heidel's suggestion, δοκεόντων (δ or ἀ) ὁ δοκιμώτας γινώσκει φυλάσσειν, should have been recorded. I, p. 161, 16: All the desperate conjectures concerning θεὸν δίκαιον are listed but not Heidel's correct note that it comes from Plato's *Cratylus* 412 C-413 D. I, p. 165, 8-11: Reference to Heidel's treatment of B 67 should not have been omitted (*Proc. Am. Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, XLVIII [1913], pp. 704-708); his Λύρον is certainly better than Diels' Πῦρ. I, p. 166, 12-14: Did Heraclitus say ἀεκέα· ἄκεα? Cf. the pun μαινόμενοι· μαίνεσθαι in frag. B 5. I, p. 168, 4-10: On B 76 see *A. J. P.*, LVI (1935), p. 415. I, p. 181, 1: ἐποίησατο ἔαντοι can mean only "claimed as his own" (cf. Herodotus, I, 129, 2), not "machte er sich daraus eine eigene Weisheit." I, p. 181, 1 (note): for Ion 35 B 4 read 36 B 4. EPICHARMUS: I, p. 191, 23: for V. P. 226 read V. P. 266. I, p. 198, 5: On Diogenes Laertius, III, 15 the old reference, *Phaedo* 96 B, is given; there is no such argument for the ideas there or elsewhere in the dialogues, but cf. Alexander, *Metaph.*, p. 78, 15. ALCMAEON: I, p. 212, 14-15: cf. Hartung's note in his edition of White's *Natural History of Selborne*, p. 52, n. 1. I, p. 213, 28: cf. [Aristotle], *Problem.* 897 B 25-26; Plato, *Timaeus*, 91 A-B and 73 C-D. I, p. 214, 10: cf. Hippocrates, περὶ φύσιος παιδίου § 30 (VII, p. 536 L.). I, p. 215, 4-6: cf. Philo, *De Opificio Mundi* 44 (I, p. 14, 1-2 CW). I, p. 215, 11 ff.: cf. Aristotle, *Topics* 145 B 7-8; Plato, *Timaeus*

¹ The passage was called to my attention by Dr. L. Edelstein.

82 A-B. ICCUS: I, p. 216, 17-20: For Plato, *Laws* 839 E-840 A the text of Burnet or England (neither of which is mentioned) is better than that of Hermann here printed. PARMENIDES: I, p. 218, 10: for B 1, 34-36 (which is Diels' old reference) read B 7, 3-5. I, p. 222, 2-3: Here should be compared not Alexander, *Metaph.*, p. 45, 2 but Aristotle, *De Generatione* 318 B 2-7 which explains Aristotle's equation of fire with ὁὐ and cold (earth) with μὴ ὁὐ. I, p. 222, 40 ff.: Why print this fragment of Eudemus without even mentioning Aristotle, *Physics* 186 A 22-32 on which it is based? I, p. 223, 12-14: The *Timaeus* reference should be 37 E-38 A, that to the *Parmenides*, 140 E ff. I, p. 223, 38-41: *De Generatione* 336 A 3-6 should not be printed under Parmenides without a reference to Philoponus, *De Gen.*, p. 287, 25-26; the passage, however, is not really a reference to Parmenides at all (cf. Cherniss, *Aristotle's Criticism of Pre-socratic Philosophy*, p. 229, n. 48). It is amazing that Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 984 B 1-4 is not printed under A 35 (or anywhere else), although it is the ultimate source of the notion that Parmenides made fire the efficient cause and earth the material cause. I, p. 224, 18: <modi> should not be added; cf. Mayor and Plasberg, *ad loc.* I, p. 225, 20: Kranz retains without comment Diels' note on δάπνηροι κύβοι: "das pythagoreische Zentralfeuer vergleicht sich mit der πυρώδης στεφάνη in der Mitte des P.schen Kosmos A 37." Diels read ὑφ' φ' πάλιν πυρώδης in that passage and so had a central πυρώδης στεφάνη; but Kranz reads περὶ ὁ, which eliminates any such central fiery ring, and moreover expressly says (p. 224, 3 note) that he follows Fränkel who denies this feature to Parmenides' cosmos. I, p. 226, 28: for δόξῃ read δόξῃ. I, p. 227, 1-6: Cf. Aristotle, *De Gen. Animal.* 765 B 18-26 which probably represents Parmenides' reasoning more accurately than does the passage from *De Part. Animal.* I, p. 234, 28: close quotation after γῆν. I, p. 240, 3-4: κάκεινο κατ' αὐτὸ τάντια Kranz translates: "auch jenes für sich gerade entgegengesetzt"; but he keeps Diels' note (αὐτὸ Apposition zum Adverbium), in which case "für sich" cannot be right. ZENO: I, p. 251, 25: Why is this printed under "Apophthegmatik" while the rest of the passage is given under "Lehre" (p. 252, 9 ff.)? It is the introduction to Zeno's aporia concerning multiplicity. I, p. 252, 11: instead of μηδὲ ἔν read μηθέν as in the parallel passage (Simplicius, *Phys.*, p. 139, 1). I, p. 252, 13: The preceding lines of Simplicius (*Phys.*, p. 99, 7-10) should have been quoted and also *Phys.*, p. 139, 3-5, since here with regard to this same quotation from Eudemus Simplicius practically admits the falsity of his interpretation as against that of Alexander. I, p. 254, 9: τῶν A should be excised as ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐσχάτου shows (line 10), and this whether the traditional interpretation or that of Lachelier and Ross be adopted (cf. Lee, *Zeno of Elea*, pp. 89-90). I, p. 254, 13: τὰ δὲ B makes no sense; read τὸ δὲ B (cf.

τὸ Γ in line 12 and Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 92). I, p. 254, 14: Instead of τὰ B read τὸ πρῶτον B with Cornford, Lee, and Ross; not τὰ B but only the first has passed all the gammas. I, p. 254, 16: ιστον χρόνον . . . ὡς φησι should be omitted as a gloss (so Lee and Ross). I, p. 257, 5 (frag. B 3): Diels in the *Nachtrag* to edition 4 contended that the argument ascribed by Porphyry to Parmenides but by Simplicius and Alexander to Zeno (Simplicius, *Phys.*, pp. 139, 27-140, 6) must be the same as frag. B 3 because Simplicius quotes this fragment to prove that the argument cited by Porphyry belonged to Zeno and not to Parmenides. This reason is not cogent, for the subject of ὅτε καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ φέρεται τῷ τοῦ Ζήνων συγγράμματι is ἡ ἐκ τῆς διχοτομίας ἀπορία (cf. Simplicius, *Phys.*, p. 140, 24) and there may have been several different applications of the διχοτομία in Zeno's book. Anyway, the argument of B 3 is obviously not the same as that of pp. 139, 27-140, 6. It is the more surprising that Kranz does not print the passage in question, because in his note reproducing Diels' statement he does print Simplicius, *Phys.*, p. 116, 8-18 which gives an argument ascribed by Porphyry to Parmenides and which was cited by Diels in comparison with the passage of Porphyry in pp. 139-140. This passage is not a διχοτομία at all. Our passage ought, then, to have been printed, as also Philoponus, *Phys.*, pp. 80, 23-81, 7 and Simplicius, *Phys.*, p. 139, 21-22 (a quotation from Themistius). I, p. 257, 5 note: In the text of Simplicius, *Phys.*, p. 116 in line 7 from the bottom of the page ἀλλ' οὔτε τῷ μὴ εἶναι is a misprint for ἀλλ' οὔτε τῷ εἶναι. MELISSUS: I, p. 259, 30: This sentence should not be printed as if it ended with εἶναι τὸ ὅν, for it continues: καὶ τὰ φυσικὰ τὰ ὄντα, ταῦτα δέ ἔστι τὰ αἰσθητά. I, p. 266, 13: for 589 B 25 read 986 B 25. I, p. 269, 2 and 3: Kranz reads γενόμενον in both places as did Diels, against which cf. Calogero, *Studi sull' Eleatismo*, p. 64, n. 1. I, p. 275, 1-2: ἐκ τοῦ ἑκάστοτε ὄρωμένου Kranz translates "auf Grund des jedesmal Gesehnen" (Diels: "auf Grund des einzelnen Wahrnehmung"); but the phrase goes with μεταπίπτειν: "appears to change from what is seen at any given time" (cf. p. 274, 8: ὅ τι ἦν καὶ ὃ νῦν οὐδὲν δύοιον εἶναι parallel with ἐπεριουσθαι as here). EMEDOCLES: I, p. 284, 25: for ἀκηκοώς read ἀκηκώς. I, p. 288, 20: After A 29 add Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 996 A 5-8 and 1001 A 9-15. I, p. 290, 27: What is printed here is only part of a sentence; the quotation ought to begin from *Physics* 252 A 3, else the whole construction is changed and there is no way of knowing that Aristotle's sentence is meant to show that for Empedocles πέφυκεν οὐτως or ἀνάγκη is the real ἀρχή. So Capelle, taking just the part printed by Diels and Kranz, translates (*Die Vorsokratiker*, p. 198): "Empedokles scheint zu behaupten dass zufolge der Notwendigkeit die Liebe und der Streit abwech-

selnd die Dinge beherrschen . . .,” whereas Aristotle really says: “It seems that Empedocles would mean that ‘such is the nature of things’ is the principle when he says that . . .” (cf. Simplicius, *Phys.*, p. 1183, 24 ff.). I, p. 290, 38: add *Metaphysics* 988 A 14-16. I, p. 290, 39-41: Why quote *De Gen. et Corr.* 333 B 19, which says that the *στοιχεῖα* were naturally prior to the *θεός* (i. e. the Sphere), and not 315 A 19-25, where Aristotle says that it is unclear whether Sphere or elements are prior, or *Metaphysics* 1091 B 10-12, where he contends that Love was the primary *στοιχεῖον*? I, p. 291, 1-7: It is strange that Philoponus on *De Gen. et Corr.* 315 A 3 is printed but not Aristotle’s own words (315 A 3-25) when Philoponus has nothing that the Aristotelian passage has not and lacks much that it has. I, p. 292, 27: In the *Zusätze* (II, p. 424, 13-16) Kranz adds Aristotle, *De Caelo* 284 A 24-26. Here he follows Jaeger in inserting (line 25) διὰ before τῆς οἰκείας ροπῆς. This is a mistake, for the theory as represented by Aristotle is that the heavenly bodies remain because their motion is swifter than their tendency to fall (cf. *Metaphysics* 1050 B 22-24 and [Alexander], *Metaph.*, p. 592, 31-32, not cited by Kranz). I, p. 298, 6: for 648 A 5 read 648 A 25. I, p. 299, 23: add Aristotle, *Physics* 194 A 20-21. I, p. 300, 9: add [Philoponus], *De Gen. Animal.*, p. 166, 24-167, 13. I, p. 301, 36: Diels’ *ἄλλὰ τὰς μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὄμοιων* cannot be right, for Empedocles obviously held that there is fire and water in all eyes; it is better with Stratton to follow Taylor in excising τὰς δ’. I, p. 303, 40: The subject of *ποιοῖσι* is not “Empedocles and Anaxagoras” (so Diels and Kranz) nor yet “those who held views like Empedocles’s” (Taylor *apud* Stratton) but the sensible objects; the plural is used under the influence of the plural in the verse just quoted. Cf. εἰ . . . ποιεῖ τὴν ἡδονήν (line 41). I, p. 309, 2 (B 2, 3): Scaliger’s ζωῆς ἀβίου, accepted by Burnet and Bignone, is not even mentioned. I, p. 311, 15 (note on *φίλωμα*): for 57 B 15 read 58 B 15. I, p. 312, 10 (note): for 28 B 18, 38 read 28 B 8, 38. I, p. 318, 20 (B 20, 3): *σῶμα* is surely subject of *λέλογχε*, not object as Kranz and Diels take it. I, p. 337, 5: If Diels’ text be kept with Kranz, the fact that Aristotle tries to refute Empedocles’ theory of the influence of heat on sex by pointing out (*De Gen. Animal.* 764 A 33-B 3) that twins of which one is male and the other female have been found ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μορίῳ τῆς ἴστερας would argue for Burnet’s interpretation: “for in its warmer part the womb brings forth males.” I, p. 338, 11-12: Kranz follows Bignone in reading *ἔδεα* in place of Diels’ *ἴδεα*, but he takes it with *ποιηνόυσα*. This is a late construction, and a better sense is obtained by taking *ἔδεα* as object of *ἔδιηνεν*. I, p. 341, 4 ff. (note): for 31 C 1 (I, 374, 17 ff.) read 80 C 1 (II, 269, 8 ff.). I, p. 355, 2-3 (B 112, 7-8): Kranz prints *τοῖσιν* † ἄμ’ † ἀν . . . κτλ. but translates: “wenn ich zu ihnen

komme . . . zu den Männern und Frauen." Bignone, however, was surely right in taking *τοῖσιν* as referring to *ταῦταις . . . στέφεσίν τε θαλεῖοις*. Then ἄμα must govern it (cf. Pindar, *Nem.* IX, 46 and 52-53): "When with these I come to flourishing cities"; and ἀνδράσιν ἡδὲ γυναιξὶ depends upon *σεβίζομαι*: "I am reverenced by men and women." I, p. 370: in the translation, for 127 read 147. I, p. 372: in the translation, for 154 b read 154 a. MENESTOR: I, p. 376, 17: cf. Plato, *Timaeus* 66 A: . . . τῶν προλεπτησμένων ὑπὸ σηπεδόνος (in the account of flavors). PHILOLAUS: I, p. 400, 33: . . . ἀφ' ἔαντῆς (ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡμῶν νομισάντων ἢ ὡς ἔτυχε) θεμέλιον ὑπάρχονταν . . . : Diels' *θεμέλιον* is accepted by De Falco also; but ὡς ἔτυχε *θεμένων* of the majority of MSS is certainly right (cf. Nicomachus, *Introd. Arith.*, p. 50, 22 and p. 109, 16 Hoche). The slighter change of ἀφ' to ἐφ' heals the passage. I, p. 403, 2-7: see Sieveking's new text in the Teubner *Moralia*, vol. II. I, p. 404, 4-9: cf. Empedocles A 56 and see Burnet, *E. G. P.*, pp. 238-239, 298 and n. 1. I, p. 405, 2: for c. 47 read c. 49. I, p. 408, 2: Kranz repeats Diels' statement that *γνωσούμενον* as "Subjekt der Erkenntnis" is "sachlich unmöglich"; but cf. Plato, *Cratylus* 440 B: εἰ δὲ ἀεὶ μεταπίπτει, ἀεὶ οὐκ ἀν εἶη γνῶσις καὶ . . . οὔτε τὸ γνωσόμενον οὔτε τὸ γνωσθησόμενον ἀν εἴη. ARCHYTAS: I, p. 426, 5: for Δ'ΑΑ read ΔΔΑ. I, p. 429, 29-30: cf. Aristotle, *De Sensu* 448 A 19-22; Xenocrates, frag. 9 (Heinze); Simplicius, *De Caelo*, p. 661, 11-12. I, p. 430, 8-12: cf. also Theo Smyrn., p. 50, 4-21; Aristotle, *De Gen. Animal.* 786 B 25-31. OCELLUS: I, p. 440, 28-29: for πάνι τηι read πάντη and for περ- read περὶ. I, p. 441, 5-8: cf. I, p. 455, 18-20. SIMUS ET AL.: I, p. 445, 4: for αἱ read οἱ. I, p. 445, 7: for προφιλοτεχνηθείσας read προσφιλοτεχνηθείσας. PYTHAGOREANS: I, p. 450, 26: for τὰ- read τὰς. I, p. 457, 18-19: τοῦ μὲν οὖν περιττοῦ . . . γενέσεως does not belong here; it refers not to Pythagoreans but to Platonists (cf. *Metaphysics* 1091 A 20: . . . ἐκ δὲ τῆς νῦν ἀφεῖναι μεθόδου). I, p. 471, 33: for Διοι read Διο-. I, p. 471, 35: for κας read καὶ. ANAXGORAS: II, p. 10, 5: cf. 68 A 15. II, p. 18, 29 (note): cf. *Class. Phil.*, XVII (1922), p. 350 where Shorey remarks that Plato, *Protagoras* 329 D-E is presumptive evidence against the use of the term δομοιμερῆ by Anaxagoras. II, p. 19, 6: add Aristotle, *Physics* 265 B 22: καὶ τὸν νοῦν δέ φησιν Ἀναξαγόρας διακρίνειν τὸν κινήσαντα πρῶτον. II, p. 19, 7-28: The important passage, Plato, *Laws* 967 B 4 ff., should have been printed here. II, p. 21, 2: Kranz retains Diels' translation "man hat Grund von H. anzunehmen"; but αἰτίαν δὲ ἔχει κτλ. can mean only: "but H. is reputed to have expressed them before." II, p. 21, 8-10: cf. Aristotle, *Physics* 251 A 23-28. II, p. 29, 22: καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος: cf. A 58 (II, p. 21, 2). II, p. 44, 3-5: cf. 24 A 16 (I, p. 214, 7-12). DIOGENES: II, p. 57, 21: cf. also Hippocrates, περὶ σαρκῶν § 6 (VIII, p. 592 L.). II, p. 67, 12-13: τὸ μὲν . . .

φύσα καλέεται: cf. Plato, *Republic* 405 D. II, p. 68: in notes for 31 read 36. CRATYLUS: II, pp. 69-70: To the passages from Plato's dialogue should certainly be added 440 D-E: Κρ. εν μέντοι ισθι, ὁ Σώκρατες, ὅτι οὐδὲ ννὶ ἀσκέπτως ἔχω ἀλλά μοι σκοπονμένῳ καὶ πράγματα ἔχοντι πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐκείνως φαίνεται ἔχειν ὡς Ἡράκλειτος λέγει. LEUCIPPUS: II, p. 71, 17: <... τὴν δὲ λόξωσιν . . . γενέσθαι>, Diels' conjecture, is retained with his note of defense against H. Gomperz; but cf. Heath, *Aristarchus of Samos*, p. 122, n. 3. II, p. 72, 22 and 30: on ρόσμός = σχῆμα cf. Aristotle's own use of ἀρρύθμοτος (*Metaphysics* 1014 B 26-28, *Physics* 193 A 11). II, p. 73, 4-8: Here should be quoted Aristotle, *Physics* 187 A 1-3, which is printed *in part* under Zeno (I, p. 252, 35-37) and which certainly refers to the Atomists (cf. Cherniss, *Aristotle's Criticism of Presocratic Philosophy*, p. 75, n. 303 and Ross, *Aristotle's Physics*, pp. 480-481). II, p. 73, 11-12: cf. 68 A 42. II, p. 79, 4-6: cf. also Aristotle, *De Sensu* 439 B 19-22 and 440 A 20-23. II, p. 80, 4: τὸν ἀστέρας ζῷα εἶναι: so Alcmaeon A 12 (I, p. 213, 17-27). DEMOCRITUS: II, p. 81, 18 = II, p. 134, 9: cf. Plato, *Cratylus* 409 A-B (cf. Covotti, *I Presocratici*, p. 288). II, p. 82, 34-35: cf. *Voll. Herc.*, coll. alt. III, 197-199, frag. 5 (Crönert, *Kolot. und Mened.*, p. 128), cited by Alfieri, *Gli Atomisti*, p. 48, n. 29. II, p. 87, 38 ff.: cf. Lucian, *Demonax* § 25. II, p. 95, 1-3: With line 2 cf. *De Generatione* 320 B 23: σῶμα γὰρ κοινὸν οὐδέν and *Metaphysics* 1069 A 28-30: οἱ δὲ πάλαι τὰ καθ' ἔκαστον (scil. οὐσίας τιθέασιν) ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ κοινόν, σῶμα. So the punctuation of line 2 here should be . . . αὐτῷ (not αὐτῶν, *pace* Diels) τὸ κοινόν, σῶμα, πάντων ἐστὶν ἀρχή. The passage is an attempt to reduce the doctrines of Anaxagoras and Democritus to identity and to represent both as essentially the same as that of the "material monists." II, p. 95, 4-7: cf. Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 1001 A 17-19; for the οἱ πλείω τὰ στοιχεῖα τιθέμενοι in that passage as inclusive of Democritus cf. *Physics* 203 A 19 ff. (59 A 45) to which reference should be made in 68 A 41 (p. 95, 1-3). II, p. 99, 5 (*Metaphysics* 1069 B 22): The correct punctuation given by Ross abolishes this impossible assertion (impossible not merely as a "citation" but even as an "interpretation" of Aristotle's) and leaves as a reference to Democritus only ὡς Δημόκριτός φησι parallel to Ἐμπεδοκλέους τὸ μῆγμα καὶ Ἀναξιμάνδρου. II, p. 99, 6-7: The quotation should not stop with λέγοντιν, for the sentence continues τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οὐδεμίαν ὑπάρχειν τοῖς πρώτοις ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐκ τούτων οἰονται· αὐξάνεσθαι γὰρ καὶ φθίνειν καὶ ἀλλοιοῦσθαι συγκρινόμενων καὶ διακρινομένων τῶν ἀτόμων σωμάτων φασίν. II, p. 99, 19-20: This is an example of the danger of printing part of a sentence, for out of its context it seems to say that each atom has weight directly proportionate to its magnitude (cf. e.g. Alfieri, *Gli Atomisti*, p. 101, n. 236). In context it is an argument to show that Democritus, having asserted that each atom has

relative weight when compared with any other although none has weight absolutely, must *a fortiori* admit, since he ascribes absolute heat to some atoms, that all have heat relatively to one another (cf. Aristotle's *Criticism of Presocratic Philosophy*, pp. 97-99 and notes 412, 413, 414). II, p. 107, 8: for 365 A 1 read 365 B 1 (same error in Index, III, p. 582). II, p. 109, 10-11: cf. *Metaphysics* 1009 B 28-31 where this interpretation of Homer is introduced by *φασί*. II, p. 119, 31-32: Theophrastus is copying the argument of Aristotle, *De Generatione* 325 B 34-326 A 14 (cf. note on p. 99, 19-20 *supra*); Diels' supposition that *τιθέασιν* (line 32) refers to "Leute wie Parmenides" is therefore superfluous. Similarly p. 120, 2-4 derives from *De Caelo* 275 B 29-276 A 6. II, p. 121, 3-4: cf. Theophrastus, *De Igne* § 31: . . . ἡ τῶν χλωρῶν ἐρυθρότερα φλὸξ ἡ τῶν ξηρῶν (cited by Stratton). II, p. 122, 10: Kranz keeps *ξών*, Usener's change adopted by Diels; but the reference to Aristotle, *De Gen. Animal.* 785 A 21 does not explain the strange statement resulting from this change. II, p. 123, 8: At this point Alfieri (*Gli Atomisti*, p. 161) adds two passages from Diogenes of Oenoanda (frag. 5, col. 2 [p. 10, William], frag. 6, col. 2 [p. 11, William]), which have apparently escaped Kranz's notice. II, p. 136, 25: for c. 27, 5 read I, 7, 5. II, p. 136, 41-44: *φύονται . . . τινες ὑμένες ἔουκότες πομφόλυξιν αἱ . . . τὰ ζῷα ἀπέτεκον*. Cf. Aristotle, *De Gen. Animal.* 762 A 22-24: *ἐμπεριλαμβάνεται (scil. θερμότης ψυχική) δὲ καὶ γίγνεται θερμαινομένων τῶν σωματικῶν ὑγρῶν οἷον ἀφρώδης πομφόλυξ*. II, p. 136, 46-137, 4: cf. Aristotle, *De Gen. Animal.* 762 A 18-20. As for the intervening lines, p. 136, 44-46, the notion here contained that male and female differ by being warmer and colder respectively is in contradiction to what Aristotle says of Democritus' theory (*De Gen. Animal.* 764 A 6-11) and nothing like it occurs in the Diodorus passage; it is, however, in perfect accord with Aristotle's own theory, particularly in linking the greater heat of the male with a higher degree of concoction (cf. *De Gen. Animal.* 765 B 8-766 A 22). II, p. 137, 12-15: Similarly this "paradoxical" classification of plants of which it is here said (p. 136, 25-29) that it "erinnert an ähnlichen Metaphern des Empedokles dessen Theorie Demokrit benutzt zu haben scheint" is the common Aristotelian comparison (cf. especially *De Incessu Animal.* 706 B 3-6, 705 B 6-8; *Parva Nat.* 467 B 2). II, p. 138, 25: The reference here to A 135 § 63 ff., carried over from edition 4, is wrong (as Alfieri has observed), for "die *ἰδέαι* sich auf die Formen der Atomen beziehen," whereas there the composite bodies are in question (n. b. p. 117, 31: *τὸ σχῆμα μεταπίπτον* and cf. B 139, 139 a). II, p. 141 in footnotes: for 23 read 24, for 24 read 25. II, p. 157, 12 (footnote): after "vgl. *τρόπος*" add: B 61 (II, p. 158, 3) and cf. *δύστροπος* (II, p. 163, 2), which does not mean "unverträglich." II, p. 159, 11-12: cf.

Plato, *Republic* 403 A 7-8. II, p. 181, 1-7: On frags. B 178 and 179 see Shorey, *Class. Phil.*, XIII (1918), pp. 313 f. and cf. Aristotle, *Politics* 1339 A 26-31; II, p. 181, 11 ff.: cf. Plato, *Republic* 548 B-C and *Laws* 722 B ff. II, p. 191, 3 (footnote): For the source of Plutarch, *Ages*. 33 quoted as parallel to B 228 cf. Plato, *Republic* 404 A-B. II, p. 201, 3-4: cf. Aristotle, *Politics* 1255 B 11-12. METRODORUS: II, p. 233, 15-17: cf. also II, p. 79, 19-21. ÄLTERE SOPHISTIK: II, p. 253, 12: Add Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 1026 B 14 ff.: διὸ Πλάτων τρόπον τινὰ οὐ κακῶς τὴν σοφιστικὴν περὶ τὸ μὴ ὄν ἔταξεν (cf. *Sophist* 254 A). εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ τῶν σοφιστῶν λόγοι περὶ τὸ συμβεβηκός ὡς εἴπειν μάλιστα πάντων, πότερον ἡ ταῦτὸν μουσικὸν καὶ γραμματικόν, καὶ μουσικὸς Κορίσκος καὶ Κορίσκος, καὶ εἰ πᾶν ὃ ἀν̄ γ, μὴ ἀεὶ δέ, γέγονεν, ὥστ' εἰ μουσικὸς ὁν γραμματικὸς γέγονε, καὶ γραμματικὸς ὁν μουσικός, καὶ ὅσοι δὴ ἄλλοι τοιούτοι τῶν λόγων εἰσίν. PROTAGORAS: II, p. 258, 21: cf. Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 1011 A 17-20. II, p. 259, 5-6: cf. Plato, *Theaetetus* 156 E-157 A and 154 B. GORGIAS: II, p. 283, 6: With *De M. X. G.* 980 B 9-17 cf. Aristotle, *De Sensu* 446 B 17-26. II, p. 305, 6-7: This refers not to any work of Gorgias but to *Meno* 71 D-73 C, part of which is printed as B 19 (II, p. 305, 8 ff.). ANTIPHON: II, p. 343, 1: with ἐπαλλάξεις cf. II, p. 93, 34: αἰτιάται τὰς ἐπαλλαγάς. II, p. 356, 31: cf. also Platonic *Definitions* 411 D 8 f. and *Alcibiades* I, 126 C ff. CRITIAS: II, p. 384, 11: cf. Plato, *Cratylus* 405 C-D. Δισσοὶ λόγοι: II, p. 413, 19-21: cf. Plato, *Cratylus* 432 A-B; Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 1043 B 36-38; Posidonius *apud Stobaeus, Ecl.* I, 20, 7 (I, p. 178, 10-13 Wachsmuth). ZUSÄTZE: II, p. 422, 37-38: for III, 19 W read III, 48 W. II, p. 422, 45: for 34 read 36. II, p. 424, 13: for Suppl. 31 read Suppl. 21. II, p. 425, 30 ff.: Cf. Powell, *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature*, 3rd series, 1933, pp. 148-151. III, p. 653, 41: for 59 B 2 read 59 B 21.

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STERLING Dow. *Prytaneis: A Study of the Inscriptions Honoring the Athenian Councillors (Hesperia, Supplement I)*. Athens, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1937. Pp. 259. \$3.00.

The editors of *Hesperia* have initiated with this volume a series of occasional monographs of independent character and devoted to single topics which will be published as supplementary volumes to that journal. The results of this first volume are admirable. Dow has culled from the inscriptions excavated in the Agora before August, 1935, all which relate to the prytaneis.

Hitherto unpublished documents comprise over half of the 121 inscriptions in this volume; the remainder consists of prytany decrees from the *editio minor* of the Attic Corpus and those from earlier *Hesperia* numbers, although the texts of these previously published inscriptions are not always reproduced. The most praiseworthy features of this work are the careful transcription of texts and the prudent restoration of epigraphical formulae. The advance that Dow has made is more apparent in a comparison of his texts with those of earlier editors. By limiting himself to one type of document, the author has been enabled to make a definitive study of all phrases which occur in prytany decrees and of all officials honored therein. The results of this study have been included in the first thirty pages of the volume and this section is of importance to any student of Athens of the post-325 B. C. period. Prosopographical items in particular are copiously handled and a complete index is affixed. The photographs are of the same excellent quality as in previous *Hesperia* publications. There is appended a chapter in which are described eleven Athenian allotment machines in use about the middle of the second century B. C. with an interpretation of pertinent literary passages in Aristotle's *'Αθηναίων πολιτεία*.

For the sake of final publications, the following corrections in texts are noted: *Περρεῖδαι* in line 11 of no. 3, *Χολλεῖδαι* on pages 58 and 253, *Λεωχάρον* in no. 29, line 1, and *Προ | στατηρίων* for *Προσ | στατηρίων* in lines 11-12 of the same inscription, *ἐπεψήφιζεν* in no. 46, line 17, *ἀίσετοι* in line 3 of no. 121, *Φιλωτ-* in line 34, and *καθὼς προγέγραπται* for *καθὼς προέγραπται* in line 25. The final letters of line 7 of no. 36 are on the stone and should be transcribed as in Kirchner's text in *I. G.*, II², 848. The text of line 1 of no. 96 is incorrect and, in fact, what is read as a beta unmistakably appears on the squeeze as an epsilon. Two of the other letters of this line are uncertain. On page 46 there is no *ΕΙΣ* in line 16 of no. 9.

In addition to these minor corrections, there are alternative solutions to several problems raised by Dow, the majority of which are at present unsolvable. In line 19 of no. 3 it may be questioned whether the letters [O] Θρ are part of a demotic. I note no other example in Dow's photographs in which the initial letters of the demotics differ in the various columns in regard to their alignment with the left *στοῖχος* of names. In this inscription it is known from line 11 that the demotics were inscribed to the left of the initial letters of the names. Therefore, the letters in line 19 may well be part of a *nomen*. It is also to be noted that the assignment of the demotic *Περρεῖδαι* and of all the inscribed names to the tribe Oineis, as well as the date for the stone, rests primarily on the identification of two prosopographical items, *Νικόστρατος Πυθοδώρου* and *Νικίας Ἐχεστράτου*.

This is solid evidence, but in view of the quotation from Nikandros' Περὶ τῶν δήμων that this deme was from Aiantis (Harpocration s. v. Θυργωνίδαι; cf. W. Wrede, *R.-E.*, s. v. Perrhidai), a source which normally would not be called in question, a final decision may require additional testimony. Dow has published as no. 9 the inscription which Ferguson (*A. J. P.*, LV, 1934, p. 319) and Meritt (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 581; cf. *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 135) forecast would prove the existence of a second archon Euboulos in the first half of the third century; the first dated in 272/1 B. C. and the second in 259/8 B. C. A difference of thirteen years does not give conclusive validity to Dow's arguments on the basis of lettering and prosopography (pp. 46-52), and by disposing of the theory of *rasura* in line 15 of no. 10 (*I. G.*, II², 678) Dow and Ferguson have eliminated one of the arguments for a second Euboulos. Therefore, the determining argument must depend upon the restoration of μερίσαι τὸν ἐπὶ τεῖ διοικήσει in line 5. This disregards the possibility of δῶναι τὸν (see *I. G.*, II², 710) and in the elimination of μερίσαι τὸν may give undue reliance upon restoration in an inscription whose lines vary from 44 to 46 or 47 letters, particularly since there are eight iotas in the line in question. The inscription is incorrectly labelled stoichedon 46; the normal line has 45 letters. In regard to the well-known decree which honors the pro-Macedonian Phaidros of Sphettos (*I. G.*, II², 682), the theory of a second Euboulos disposed of the necessity for assuming a lapse of at least ten years between the last public service of Phaidros and the date of the passage of the decree. This lapse has been interpreted by Dinsmoor (*Archons*, pp. 77-78, 82-84) as being due to the dominance of the anti-Macedonian party until after the Chremonidean War. Concerning no. 14 it may be suggested that restorations with other stoichedon lines are possible. Assuming that the lambda in the second letter space of line 2 is on the stone, [τὴν ποίησιν τῆς στῆ]λη[σ καὶ ἀνάθεσιν] or [τὴν ποίησιν τῆς στῆ]λη[σ καὶ τὴν ἀναγραφήν] may be restored equally well on the analogy of *I. G.*, II², 786 and 792. Either the omission or the inclusion of the third article is possible. The expansion of the purpose clause is more characteristic of the latter part of the third century than of the middle.

Dow's statement (p. 17) that the Herald and the Flutist were the only officials of those honored in prytany decrees to hold office longer than a year might be expanded to include for the early period the Priest of the Eponymos. The identical priest, Θράσιππος Γαργύττιος, is assigned to nos. 60 and 64, which are dated in different years, and Thrasippos is now known to have been Priest in a third prytany inscription, recently discovered in the Agora. On the basis of the identical demotic (*Ποτάμιος*) in nos. 31 and 36, the same priest, Eubouides, may have func-

tioned in the period 215-211 B.C. In connection with this official, Dow gave conclusive evidence (p. 16) that the Priest need not be a member of the tribe honored before *ca.* 169 B.C. Contradictorily, in his commentary on no. 28 he substantiates a date before the creation of the tribe Ptolemais for the inscription on the assumption that the deme of the Priest (Aphidna) must belong to the tribe honored (Aiantis), not to Ptolemais. Important to students of Attic *Staatskunde* would be Dow's conclusions (pp. 22 and 76) that the heading to the citations in the middle of the two decrees affords evidence that the first decree was sometimes probouleumatic and that the second decree was sometimes passed by the demos. But where the stones which Dow uses as evidence are preserved complete, the heading ἡ βουλὴ ὁ δῆμος is preceded by a first decree in which the formula ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ - - - δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ occurs (see no. 29)—an unmistakable characteristic of a *populi scitum*. Similarly, in no. 84 both decrees were passed by the boule, but the phrase ὁ δῆμος occurs in the heading. Τῷ δήμῳ must be restored in place of τῇ βουλῇ in line 14 of no. 79. In view of Dow's commentary to no. 41 the assignment in Meritt's table (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 137) of the archonship of Euthykritos to the year 222/1 B.C. must be queried. Dow, assigning his no. 88 (*I.G.*, II², 977) to the year 131/0 B.C., states that the secretary's demotic must be restored as either 'Α[γρυλῆθεν] or 'Α[ναγυράσους]. Both of these demes are from Erechtheis (I), but the secretary's tribal cycle requires a deme of Pandionis (III) for this year (see Kirchner, *I.G.*, II², IV, p. 20 and Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, p. 31). Therefore, 'Α[γγελῆθεν] is the only demotic which may be restored.

These criticisms are concerned mostly with details and do not affect the substantial value of this work, which is noteworthy no less for the industry bestowed upon it than for the thoroughness and acumen of its author. We now look forward eagerly to the publication of new bouleutai-lists and a study of the representation of Attic demes which Dow promises (pp. 2 and 28) will be forthcoming shortly.

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Plutarque. Sur les Oracles de la Pythie. Texte et Traduction avec une Introduction et des Notes par ROBERT FLACELIÈRE. (Annales de l'Université de Lyon: Lettres. Troisième Série, Fascicule 4.) Paris, Société d'Éditions *Les Belles Lettres*, 1937. Pp. 179; 1 plate.

Flacelière has made a worthy addition to the excellent list of books on Delphic subjects that French scholars have been

turning out in the last few years. In plan and purpose it is similar to Georges Daux's *Pausanias à Delphes*. In both the Greek text is faced by a translation into French; but whereas Daux's archaeological commentary upon Pausanias' *Delphica* forms the body of his book, Flacelière's discussion of the content of *De Pythiae Oraculis* is merely the introduction to an edition and translation of Plutarch's dialogue.

The long introduction is divided into seven sections. The first is a brief outline of the dialogue. The second deals with the date of composition. The editor accepts Hirzel's thesis that this dialogue is later than the other two Delphic essays. He places its date in the last years of Plutarch's life, since he holds plausibly that the *καθηγεμών* of chapter 29 is the Emperor Hadrian.

In the third section Flacelière discusses the literary qualities of *De Pythiae Oraculis*. He shows that Plato influenced the form and style of Plutarch's writings as well as their philosophic content. Plato's influence is clearly seen in Plutarch's choice of the dialogue form, in the way in which the dialogue is introduced and in which the scene of the dialogue is linked to the subject of it, and in the touches by which the characters of the interlocutors are portrayed. But Plato's influence, the editor shows, is most evident in the lighter portions of the dialogue; in the exposition of abstract and complicated thought Plutarch's writing becomes more careless, labored, and loosely organised. But, as the editor says, despite Plutarch's uneven literary skill the essay is on the whole pleasant reading.

In the second part of this section Flacelière discusses the persons of the dialogue. He demonstrates conclusively that Theon is Plutarch himself, and that Philinus also speaks for Plutarch, though with less authority than Theon. Diogenianus is *πατὴρ τοῦ λόγου*, the dialogue being written in his honor; while Serapion and Boethus are spokesmen for Stoicism and Epicureanism respectively.

As for Plutarch's language, Flacelière indicates that Plutarch, who scoffed at strict Atticists, was very much an Atticist in practice, though he sprinkled his vocabulary with occasional words from the *koinē* and from the poetic diction with which his wide reading had made him familiar.

The fourth section is a discussion of the philosophic and religious ideas found in this dialogue. Under this head Flacelière treats Plutarch's theory of prophetic inspiration, his attack upon Epicureans and Stoics, and his religious faith as Apollo's priest. Here Platonism is everywhere in evidence, though peripatetic elements enter Plutarch's argument in chapter 21. Perhaps none of the *Moralia* displays better the main lines of Plutarch's religious thought.

In the fifth section the editor traces the course of the inter-

locutors through the Delphic sanctuary, states what is known about the various monuments referred to in the dialogue, and discusses the Hadrianic renaissance of Delphi that Plutarch eulogises in chapter 29. Several passages in *De Pythiae Oraculis* are of great interest to the archaeologist, and this section serves the same useful function as Daux's *Pausanias à Delphes*, since Flacelière makes use of the results of the French excavations at Delphi in discussing Plutarch's topographical statements. He upholds Bourguet's identification of the foundation to the east of the Deinomenid tripod with the Acanthian treasury.

The short sixth section expresses the editor's final judgment upon the dialogue. He disagrees with Croiset that there is something childish about it, and sees in it "moins de puérilités que de pensées sérieuses, graves et élevées." He notes the uneasiness that underlies Plutarch's assurance that the oracle's prestige and prosperity will endure. For *De Pythiae Oraculis* is essentially a defense of the oracle against its detractors in an age when enthusiasm for the traditional religion was on the wane.

The final section of the introduction discusses the text of the dialogue. Flacelière has made a recension of the two manuscripts. His text is the same as that of the latest Teubner edition except that he has corrected a few minor errors, made a very few emendations, and found it possible to retain the reading of the manuscripts in a few places where previous editors have made emendations. The text is equipped with a satisfactory critical apparatus.

In both text and translation there is little to quarrel with. But it seems to me that in 394 E the manuscript reading ὑπούλους must be wrong. Flacelière translates λόγους . . . ὑπούλους καὶ πολεμικούς "des propos gros de controverses." But the exact meaning of ὑπούλος is "festering or rotten underneath," and Philinus hardly means to imply that the statements made were in an extremely unhealthy state because they provoked argument. In 395C "plus ingénieuse" is too mild for πανουργέστερον. In 403C καὶ τοῦτο σοι, Pohlenz should be followed in deleting σοι. Its retention makes a very difficult and awkward, if not impossible, construction. Flacelière's own restorations of lacunae are not always fortunate. In 406A the ἀν of <ἀποφαίνων ἀν μόνην> can hardly be right. In 408C <οὐδὲν τούτῳ> would be superior to <οὐδέν αὐτῷ γ"> if there is to be a balance with ἐκείνῃ. Emenders should beware of inserting particles in restorations and emendations.

On page 11, note 2, Flacelière cites two books for discussion of the influence of Plato upon Plutarch's thought. It was a great oversight not to have mentioned Roger Jones' *The Platonism of Plutarch* (Chicago, 1916).

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ARMAND PITTEL. *Vocabulaire philosophique de Sénèque*. 1^{er} Livraison. Paris, Société d'Éditions "Les Belles Lettres," 1935. Pp. xviii + 215.

The need of a comprehensive study of the development of the Latin philosophic vocabulary has been often remarked,¹ and in such a work the parts played by Lucretius, Cicero, and Seneca would naturally be very large. But the time for trustworthy generalizations has had to await the completion of specialized studies in different parts of the extensive field, such as those of Katharine C. Reiley and F. Peters on Lucretius and Cicero, those of Font, Laurand, Lebreton, Lișcu, Monnanteuil, Stang, and others on Cicero alone, that of R. Fischer on Cicero and Seneca, and some partial studies of Seneca alone.

The present volume begins with a bibliography of editions, lexica, and works on the philosophic and lexicographic aspects of Seneca and Cicero. The titles chosen are almost solely French and German, save for the name of Miss Reiley. Then follows a sketch in twenty-nine pages of the growth of the Latin philosophic vocabulary from its origins through Ennius, Lucretius, Varro, Cicero, and lesser figures, to Seneca, with a fuller discussion of Seneca himself, especially in his relation to Cicero. The author concludes that Cicero's terminology has been enriched by additions from the poetic and popular language of Seneca, yet without any profound modifications.

Most of this volume, as presumably all of those to follow, is occupied by a detailed study of the individual philosophic terms, arranged alphabetically, each being defined and illustrated by instances in Seneca, Cicero, and elsewhere, often with an attempt to suggest a Greek term which the Latin renders. If subsequent volumes employ the same scale—as it is to be hoped they may—the entire work should reach nearly a thousand pages. Under the letter A alone I note 15 main captions discussed also by R. Fischer, *De Usu Vocabulorum apud Ciceronem et Senecam Graecae Philosophiae Interpretes* (1914), but 164 not listed in Fischer's index. This may show the relative fulness of the two works, though it must be said that Pittet has been extremely inclusive in his selection of "philosophic" terms, since many would hardly so regard such words as *abominari*, *absurdus*, *abunde*, *accusare*, *acidus*, *admonere*, *adulari*, *aegrotare*, etc. Fischer, on the other hand, has relatively more to say about the original Greek terms than has Pittet, and his table of *notiones* (pp. 105-112) puts more concisely before the reader the Ciceronian and Senecan uses and their differences.

Misprints (such as the heading of p. 48), wrong Greek accents (e. g., six cases on p. 199), incorrect titles (e. g., of Hirzel's work

¹ E. g., by Ernout in *Rev. de Philol.*, LX (1934), p. 317.

on p. 197), and misspellings of proper names (on p. xvi for ‘Biekel’ read ‘Bickel’; on p. xvii for ‘Reily’ read ‘Reiley’) are occasional, but usually so obvious as to diminish but slightly the usefulness of a respectable and unhurried piece of work.

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GUNNAR SÖRBOM. *Variatio Sermonis Tacitei aliaeque apud eum Quaestiones Selectae.* Upsala, Almquist and Wiksell, 1935. Pp. xv + 190.

Variatio is the subject of the first and by far the longest chapter of this book (pp. 1-136). It is defined as “studium scriptoris parvo intericto intervallo idem verbum, idem genus dicendi, eandem verborum collocationem evitandi” (p. 2). Among *genera dicendi* are included tense, mood, voice, number, case, degree, abstractness and concreteness. Except that Sörbom reserves for possible future study the question whether Tacitus’ use of *variatio* follows the curve which Löfstedt, *Syntactica II*, pp. 282 ff., established for the development of his style (pp. 135-6), the present treatise, by reason of its scope, its thoroughness, and its acumen, would seem to be definitive. Sörbom proves that Tacitus’ variation of vocabulary is very often motivated by his wish to avoid awkward repetitions (pp. 16-49) and that his changes of forms are sometimes due to a striving after euphony (p. 66 n. 1). Six examples cited on pages 133-134 are very interesting as showing one of the ways by which Tacitus achieves compression of style, namely, the use, in contrast, of words which are not opposites but which suggest each other’s opposites; e. g., *Hist.*, IV, 69, 4 f., *sapientissimum quemque reverentia fideque, iuniores periculo ac metu continuuit*.

The remaining chapters are: II *De mutatione subiecti*; III *De verbi ESSE ellipsi*, in which it is demonstrated that Tacitus uses this ellipsis even more freely than Nipperdey and others have supposed; IV *Ad varios locos adnotationes*. Preface, Table of Contents, Bibliography, *Index rerum et verborum*, and *Index locorum* complete the book.

Textual criticisms, illuminating because of the author’s familiarity with the style of Tacitus, are scattered throughout the volume. Sörbom restores a considerable number of readings that are generally “emended.” An instance is *Dial.*, XXX, 27 f., *neque oratoris vis et facultas, sicut ceterarum rerum, angustis et brevibus terminis cluditur* (p. 76). (The *Dialogus* especially has suffered from “emendation,” for the reason that editors strive to conform it to Ciceronian usage [p. 135].) An example of Sörbom’s own emendations is *Ann.*, XI, 35, 10 f.:

Admotusque Silius tribunali non defensionem, non moras temptavit, precatus ut mors acceleraretur. Eādem constantiā et illustres equites Romani (*sc. egerunt vel fuerunt*), *<eadem>* cupido maturae necis (*sc. iis*) fuit (pp. 175-6). Incidentally, Sörbom defends, against the editors, manuscript readings in Curtius, Livy, and Seneca the Younger.

Hardly anything in this book would one wish to have changed. There is one passage listed under *variatio* (p. 99) which does not fit Sörbom's definition: *Hist.*, I, 76, 7 ff., *Eadem formido provinciam Narbonensem ad Vitellium vertit, facili transitu ad proximos et validiores.* The fear, Tacitus tells us, spread from the Aquitanians to the Narbonians, who lived *next* to them and were *stronger* than they. The coupling of superlative and comparative is necessary to the expression of the thought and hence is not due to a desire "idem genus dicendi . . . evitandi."

For his examples of *variatio* in the use of personal names Sörbom cites parallels from Livy and Columella (p. 3). One might add Cicero, *Cato Maior*, VII, 25 ff., where the same writer is called first Statius and then Caecilius.

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Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua, Vol. V. Monuments from Dorylaeum and Nacolea, by C. W. M. COX and A. CAMERON. Manchester University Press, 1937. Pp. xlvi + 201; 64 photographic plates.

The fifth volume of this valuable series is concerned with a portion of the territories of the cities of Dorylaeum (Eski Şehir) and Nacolea (Seyit Gazi), and is intended as a contribution to a survey of Phrygia Epictetus, other portions of which have already been studied by the editors. The volume brings important additions to our knowledge of northern Phrygia. Of the 367 monuments regularly catalogued 321 are new and the rest are improved or confirmed by fresh observations; 323 have been discovered and verified by the editors themselves, the rest are published from the notebooks of Ramsay, Schönewolff, Körte, and Brandenburg. The descriptions of the documents and the annotations reveal diligent and thorough observation, the use of a wide range of comparative material in spite of the brevity imposed by the plan of the series, and the careful balancing of probable interpretations in each case. The result is a harvest both of documents and interpretative material of great value to students of several branches of classical studies.

The impression gained from other sources that Phrygia Epictetus reached its full development rather late in the Roman

imperial period receives striking confirmation: "Not more than half a dozen texts have been found that can be confidently dated earlier than the reign of Trajan." A boundary stone (no. 60) almost certainly proves that the territory of Dorylaeum was coterminous with that of Nicaea and casts a ray of light on the obscure history of Bithynia under the Romans. Other stones identify the sites of several villages, notably Tricomia (no. 87), and yield some other names besides. Students of municipal organization will note the possibility that the village of Tricomia had a *gerousia* (no. 86), and the first epigraphical evidence regarding the tribes and the tribal and city magistracies of Nacolea (nos. 202, 204, 205). The number of references to imperial slaves and freedmen is noteworthy, even though the fact that so many of them were natives or citizens of Nacolea somewhat vitiates their value as evidence for imperial estates there. Whether no. 201 implies an estate belonging to Germanicus Caesar depends on the uncertain question whether a bit of the original edge still remains on the left side of the stone. The estate of Cornelia Gaiane (no. 185) should be added to my list in *Economic Survey of the Roman Empire*, Vol. IV, p. 671 (cf. also nos. 184, 218, 219). The evidence, both epigraphical and artistic, regarding native cults is very important indeed. The rarity and lateness of Christian monuments form a contrast with the region to the south. The area was the home and centre of diffusion of the cult of Zeus Brontos; the editors have given a list of all the documents referring to this deity. The volume contains a significant number of examples in which epitaphs are explicitly combined with dedications, but the editors rightly maintain an attitude of suspense toward the further question whether the deceased was himself considered a deity and offer the interesting suggestion that in the absence of the regular formulae mentioning fines or a curse this was a way of placing the tomb under divine protection (cf., however, no. 232). Noteworthy too are several instances of the use of the vine and a cluster of grapes as indubitably pagan symbols, and the material on other cults both of a local and a general character: Apollo Lykios, Meter Tetraprosopos, etc. The large collection of door tombs and their ornamentation serves to emphasize the interest of these, pointed out long ago by Noack and Körte. One should mention also the representation of a clamp (?; no. 40) resembling the "ceremonial clamp" found in the Thames, and the note on the pottery observed.

Previous volumes of the series have been criticized for showing insufficient regard for the relationship between the documents that they contained and a corpus of the inscriptions of the regions that they covered. A full epigraphical bibliography meets this criticism and provides a welcome aid which students who cannot go to Vienna would wish extended to other regions

too. The plates are full and excellent and provide a means of testing the editors' work which is all the more remarkable in that they were compelled to attack a region for which they had not originally prepared and had to endure inclement weather during most of their journey. The indices are complete. The editors are to be congratulated upon an excellent volume.

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ΚΟΛΟΚΟΤΣΑΣ, Ε. Δ. Τὸ Πρωτογενὲς Σατυρικὸν Δρᾶμα τῶν Ἀρχαίων Ἑλλήνων. Τὸ Σατυρικὸν Δρᾶμα “Ἀγῆν.” Athens, privately printed, 1938. Pp. 57.

The first part of this digraph is a painstaking and somewhat laborious scholarly essay on primitive satyr-drama. The author collects the ancient evidence as to the etymology of "satyr" and the nature of satyrs and of the drama named after them; he concludes that "primitive satyr-drama arose from various rites, festivals, and religious gatherings throughout the cities of Greece. . . . In Athens, the satyr-drama began in very early times, before the seventh century B. C., and was preserved, in its primitive form and wholly jesting and purely satyric state up to the time of Pratinas, who added the emotional, or tragic (in the modern sense) element." The author insists that in primitive satyr-drama there could be nothing serious, or approaching the heroic, since satyrs were incapable of the least moral strength; similarly, early satyr-drama could not be satiric or critical, as comedy was from the beginning, since again ethical standards would be implied, and satyrs had none. The content, then, of primitive satyr-drama was pure joking, jeering, buffoonery, and animal, not to say bestial, spirits. This seems to the reviewer an interesting hypothesis, with very little evidence for it, and none against.

The second part is an extended commentary, with a meticulous review of the scholarly literature, on the "Agen," a satyr-play satirizing Harpalus. Subjects included in the commentary are: the significance of the name, the probable contents of the play, place and time of production, the career of Harpalus, and the author Python; a text, as revised by Dr. Kolo-kotsas, of the large fragment preserved by Athenaeus, and notes thereon, conclude the discussion.

An index and a list of most of the corrigenda are included. Although the style has occasionally a super-Thucydidean, or

more probably Teutonic, complexity, the Greek is so thoroughly on the ancient pattern that it may be read by anyone with the slightest acquaintance with the modern tongue.

HERMANN KLEINKNECHT. *Die Gebetsparodie in der Antike.*
(*Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft*, Heft 28.)
Stuttgart-Berlin, Kohlhammer, 1937. Pp. 220.

This is an enlarged and revised dissertation. The term "parody" is carefully defined at the outset as a representation, ostensibly accurate but actually distorted, of a literary passage, or of views, customs, practices, or persons, which reveals the essential nature of the object of parody, for the purpose of either pure humor or criticism and castigation. The term "Gebet" is made to include all addresses to and invocations of the gods. The author proceeds to investigate parodies of prayers, hymns, oaths, etc., throughout ancient literature. Aristophanes is the chief source, as might be expected; also of especial interest are Plato (though here the treatment seems far-fetched), Lucian, Plautus, and Horace. Whenever possible, parallels to the parodic passages are adduced from hymns, such as the Homeric or Orphic, and from tragedy and other serious literature. The parody is, of course, directed at the conventional phrasing and customary manner of religious practice, rather than at any specific literary passage. The author shows the utmost thoroughness in searching the ancient sources, as well as in citing modern works, including those of a general literary and philosophical nature (Miss McCarthy's "Lucian and Menippus," *Yale Classical Studies*, IV, would have been a valuable addition to the list, as a corrective for the views of Lucian's dependence on Menippus). Kleinknecht does not confine himself to cataloguing parodies, but discusses briefly the nature and value of parody, and the relation of religion to parody of ritual. In this connection a summarizing statement demands quotation: "*Gebetsparodie* means speaking of God, or dealing with the divine, as if God could take a joke." Kleinknecht's work is a special study of excellent technique and comprehensive scope, and will be of considerable interest to scholars working with any of the numerous authors mentioned.

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S. BLOMGREN. *De Sermone Ammiani Quaestiones Variae.*
 (Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 6, 1937.) Uppsala, A. B.
 Lundquist, 1937. Pp. 185. 5.75 Kr.

A thorough acquaintance with the language of a Latin writer is most helpful in establishing his text and determining its interpretation. This is especially true of a writer like Ammianus, to whose diction numerous scholars, listed in Blomgren's *Index Librorum*, along with others mentioned below only by name, have devoted their attention. To these his own monograph, which is a model of clarity and arrangement, is an important addition, made convenient also by *Indices Rerum, Verborum, and Locorum*, of which the last-named consists of a long list of passages of which he discusses the text and proposes emendations, a goodly number of which support the readings of the codex *Fuldensis* (V).

It is quite impossible in a brief review to give a full conspectus of his 173 pages; only a few interesting points can be touched upon. Under the head of *De bimembri dissoluto* he finds that asyndeton is frequent in many of the writers imitated by Ammianus, and he adds a large number of examples from Ammianus himself, not a few of which the editors of his text have disguised by the insertion of a copula; e. g. *Emissa Damascus* (xiv, 8, 9) and *Verus Severus* (xxiii, 5, 17), where the omission of *et* makes an effective homoeoteluton, a subject to which he devotes one of his chapters. In *patris patruique collega* (xxvii, 6, 12) *-que* is an addition of the editors which is called for by Ammianus' usual metrical structure, but Blomgren finds a considerable number of instances of three unaccented syllables between two with accents (e. g. *ipse arbiter perspexit*, xxiv, 6, 16; *quae Gallus egerat coniunxque*, xiv, 10, 2), some of which Clark, and perhaps Ammianus, overlooked or allowed to stand. Blomgren is inclined to recognize this as a somewhat rare, but legitimate cursus, which should not be allowed to interfere with a good conjecture; he also believes that the regular cursus should not be permitted to separate words which obviously belong together, or to obscure the sense of a passage; e. g. *minuto numero*, xix, 6, 11; *Arsaci formidabiles reges*, xxiii, 6, 55. See his pp. 9, 12, 14, 89, note 2, 113, note 1, in which he gives a number of instances in which Clark has wrongly inserted a comma. In not a few of these I had omitted the comma in my translation in the L. C. L., was inclined to omit more in Vol. II, and still more in Vol. III (see Prefaces to those volumes). I regret that I received Blomgren's monograph too late to make full use of it; he quotes his examples with commendable fulness, which adds to their clarity, but this cannot be done in a brief review.

Blomgren discusses at length Ammianus' various methods of

connecting sentences. One feature is that in connecting groups of three or more words he uses *-que* with the last word, and sometimes *et*, contrary to the usage of the best Latin writers. Blomgren treats inconcinnity, adding some examples to Hagendahl's *Studia Ammianeae*, ch. iv; he finds that the ellipsis of *esse* is frequent, but that the word is often wrongly inserted by Clark and the earlier editors.

Especially interesting chapters are those on Personification and on *Lusus Verborum*. Under the former head he adds a large number of examples to the ten or so given by Hassenstein, and maintains that it is a characteristic feature of Ammianus' style. He excludes from genuine personification those instances in which an abstract substantive qualified by a genitive or by an adjective is substituted for a personal word: e. g. *luti glutinosa mollities*, xx, 11, 25; *amat benignitas numinis*, xxi, 1, 9; and classes as doubtful cases like *ubi desudat nobilitas omnis et splendor*, xxiii, 6, 83, and some others. This brief summary does scant justice to a most interesting chapter, which must be read in full to be appreciated.

On *De lusibus verborum*, of which Hagendahl noted a few instances, Blomgren has thirty pages, with a great number of examples. This is in part because he includes instances of *adnominatio*, such as *ruente fluente, nocentes et innocentes*, and the like; but he also finds a number of examples of irony, such as in xviii, 7, 7, where Sabinianus is called *lectissimus moderator belli internecivi* (cf. xviii, 5, 5). The irony escaped Petschenig, who proposed *abiectissimus*, and Kellerbauer who favored *inertissimus*, and some others; but see my note in the L. C. L. edition. My note on Vol. I, Introd., p. xxxvi, needs some qualification; but *posuit* also is sarcastic, and I am inclined to stand by that emendation of Damsté. A sure example of irony is *Valentis ceteras laudes*, as the following context shows. *Ut e celsiore scopulo caderet* (xxx, 5, 10) is such a common idea that it seems doubtful whether it is irony, and I should be inclined to substitute xxxi, 4, 5, *navabatur opera diligens, ne qui Romanam rem eversurus relinqueretur*, which Blomgren does not list. It is a difficult subject, which perhaps calls for further investigation, but on the whole irony, and still more humor, seems rare in Ammianus.

In his final chapter (p. 134) Blomgren discusses a score of disputed passages with good judgment and eminent fairness; his emendations are usually in favor of the readings of V. It may be added that his footnotes sometimes contain interesting obiter dicta; e. g. on p. 103, where he says that while Ammianus often uses adjectives in *-osus*, he very rarely employs the comparative of such words, never the superlative.

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